UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 00001201 3

(18)

MEMOIRS

..OF...

RALPH VANSITTART

A MEMBER OF THE PARLIAMENT OF CANADA, 1861-1867.

BY

EDWARD ROBERT CAMERON

209

113077

30/5/11

(1902)

THE MUSSON BOOK CO.
Publishers - TORONTO

F
5076
C3

Entered according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year one thousand nine hundred and two, by Edward Robert Cameron, at the Department of Agriculture.

THE ROLLA L. CRAIN CO., LIMITED, PRINTERS, OTTAWA

MEMOIRS

...OF...

RALPH VANSITTART, M. P.

CHAPTER I.

MY ANTECEDENTS.

It was the month of May, 1861. Spring in all her beauty was upon us. And where is spring more charming than in Canada? A week of rain had been followed by a week of southerly winds and cloudless skies, and now the trees and fields were decked in their richest livery of green. The vulgar dandelion dotted the meadows, as if some fairy over-night had passed along with bounteous hand, and sewn the fields with golden guineas. The maple woods back of the farm were all aglow with red and white trilliums, with the delicate and graceful claytonia, and the heptica and violet, earliest of all the woodland flowers, while here and there, in some low-lying and secret recess, the careful seeker after nature's jewels, might find a clump of orchids—the lady's slipper, and all her family.

Our story opens on a farm of some 500 good acres of arable land and woodland, sloping on its front down to the broad valley of the River Thames, some ten miles or thereabouts from the city of London, in the then Province of Upper Canada. The old homestead had

been built by my grandfather a third of a century earlier, was made of good limestone blocks, roughly hewn; was square in shape, with a broad piazza along its front, from which one could see the cars of the Great Western Railway flitting by on the far side of the river, and still farther away the northern slope of the valley, about two miles distant. I had returned home about a month previous, from a year's travel in Europe, which my father thought a necessary complement to the degree of Bachelor of Arts that I had received from our provincial university. Whatever stirrings of ambition I had were turned towards the department of learning which I had pursued in Toronto University, and a professor's chair seemed the goal most congenial with my tastes and habits.

My father, however, had different views, and although he had not pressed his wishes upon me to any extent since my return, I knew his ambition was to see me seated in my country's legislative halls. To-day, however, he broached the matter to me with great earnestness, and showed me a letter he had just received from the Attorney General West—the Honourable John A. Macdonald—expressing his warm approval of my candidature, of which my father had written him without my knowledge. Our family had always been Tories of the old-fashioned type, and although, as you will find, my views became much modified in later years, at this time I was firmly of the opinion, that although, perhaps a Reformer, or Grit as he was sometimes called, might be a loyal subject of Her Majesty, and a good citizen, yet the chances were strongly against it, and the safer course was to assume he was not until the contrary had been proven. My grandfather had obtained his farm about 1822, at a time when good King George the Fourth thought it well for the Empire, that such of the retired officers of his army as could be induced to do so, should settle in

Canada, and by their numbers and influence help to make the colony a loyal dependency of the Crown. My grandfather, with a number of other officers, took advantage of this opportunity, and settled on farms in this fine township of Walpole. My father had taken part, under Sir Allan McNab, in stamping out the embers of rebellion which were smouldering in our neighbourhood during the troubles of 1837, and never since could look upon a Reformer as other than a rebel if the skin were scratched.

Living near us was my uncle, Colonel Ralph Vansittart, for whom I was named. He was a bachelor of about 50 years of age, and had been induced, through his affection for my father, to purchase the adjoining farm, when he retired from the army after the Crimean war. When a young man, and before entering the army, he had an old-fashioned tutor, passionately fond of botany, who found in my uncle an apt pupil, and even before entering at Woolwich had made of him a fair field botanist, familiar with all the common English flowers, and, indeed, the flora generally of his neighbourhood. His army life for a long period put an end to his favorite pursuit, but once he settled down upon a Canadian farm, his old pastime was taken up with renewed avidity. No sooner had the warm spring rains and south winds driven off the winter frosts and snow, than my uncle, in an old suit of corduroy, could be seen, with knapsack on shoulder, trudging over the fields and through the woods after the first floweret that pushed its gentle head above the ground.

Upon the conclusion of the interview with my father, above mentioned, I set out for my uncle's place to discuss this new development in my affairs, and found him gloating over a plant he had found that morning, which he declared was hitherto unknown in Canada—a species of tropical yam, which he called

Dioscorea Villosa—and the seed of which must have been brought from the Southern States by one of our migratory birds. Had he not seen a thoughtful expression upon my face, he would, as usual, have made some sport of my ignorance of the practical side of a science in which I was supposed to be an adept, but he permitted me to unburden my mind, and I soon found my father and he were of one opinion. "In this world," he said, "we have a duty to perform, as well as the right to the pursuit of happiness which our American neighbors have considered important enough to embalm in their Declaration of Independence, although the cannon that so lately roared at Fort Sumter do not indicate they have taken the most direct course to their goal. I know you have planned for yourself a quiet studious career, but I doubt very much if you are adapted for it, and would not find a life devoid of excitement pall on you in a short time. Besides, you have an opportunity of doing something for your country if you have the desire. We are entering, I fear, upon troublous times. The agitation for increased representation in the legislature by the people of this part of the province, is bound to lead to a disruption of the union between the two provinces, unless something is done to allay the dissatisfaction. But, in my mind, more serious by far is this unholy conflict upon which they have entered across the line. Seward, (the Secretary of State), has all along had his eyes upon Canada as a mouthful which might satisfy the ravenous jaws of those who are urging on the war. He evidently thinks if he can induce the South to unite with the North in a raid on Canada, he may divert the storm clouds settling over his own land. And even if this should not come about at once, can there be any doubt, as soon as the war is over, and half a million northern soldiers have nothing else to do, some excuse will not be found, or some grounds discovered, for

picking a quarrel, so that Canada may be the unfortunate lamb which the wolf shall claim has fouled the water he wished to drink. We are living in troublous times. Times when Canadians who are loyal to England, and loyal to their own country, are required in the legislative halls. We want gentlemen to whom the sordid greed for wealth and office has no attractions, but who will be actuated only by a desire for the the good of their country, and the welfare of the British Crown." This conversation, added to my father's wishes, very soon convinced me of the propriety of the course which they had decided upon for me, and I at once began to consider the questions at issue in the country, and to make preparation for the election, which was no doubt soon to be upon us. In the first place, my proposed constituency was generally looked upon as a safe Tory seat. Most of the townships have been settled by the late Colonel Talbot, who never, if he knew it, allowed a homestead to be taken up by any other than a loyal supporter of the English rule, and, therefore, a Tory. There was, however, in one or two of the back townships, a considerelement of Scotch Presbyterians, Quakers and Yankees, who had received grants from the Canadian Government direct, and not through Colonel Talbot, and the opposition vote was generally pretty strong in their locality. I had, however, I thought, a strong card in my hand, in that my mother's sister was married to one Duncan McGregor, one of the most intelligent merchants in the village of Glammis, the chief place in this radical section. I shall have to refer to my mother's family later on, and this, perhaps, is as good a place as any to describe my mother's father, Col. John Axford. Uncle John, as he was familiarly called, was a type of the best this Canada of ours can produce of physical and moral excellence, unimproved by the adventitious aids of education, culture and refinement,

all of which are frequently found in a nature profligate and depraved. Full 6 feet 2 inches in his stocking feet, large boned, broad shoulders, yet sparely built; strong mouth and chin, but cheeks now somewhat sunken and hollow, with lines extending downwards; hair iron gray, thick, almost bushy, but eyes that were kind and winning, indicating the warm and generous heart that beat under a more or less rugged exterior. He was now over 60 years of age, but stalwart as an Indian, and able to work as long a day as any of his men. His farm was a small one about a mile from ours, and had been hewn out of the forest practically by his own hands. He was descended from a U. E. Loyalist, who left New Jersey a few years after the close of the American War of Independence. His ancestor had found life so unpleasant, the hatred of his neighbours so inveterate, that he decided to sell off his slaves and other chattels as best he could, and leave. He packed up his most precious heirlooms, and with his wife and family, in a covered wagon drawn by two yoke of oxen, and followed by two cows tied to the hind axle of the conveyance, set out with some others similarly situated, to make their way to Canada. They travelled up the valley of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, cutting their way through the primeval forest in many places, and crossed the Niagara River at Buffalo. Proceeding westward, they looked for the land of promise, which seemed ever to fade in the horizon, until finally they settled on the shore of Lake Erie, in what is called the Long Point country. Here these loyal, lion-hearted men made homes for themselves in the forests. They lived for some years largely on game, which abounded in their neighbourhood; but in the course of a few years saw themselves as comfortably situated as the circumstances of the country would permit. Needless to say, such antecedents produced a strong Tory crop in the next two

generations, and the rebellion of '37 was the proper fuel to feed the flame of this ultra loyal spirit. When Sir Allan McNab raised a cavalry regiment to put down the rebellion in this very county, Major John Axford was one of the first to bring to his colors a troop of loyal dragoons from Middlesex and Elgin, and the memorials of this campaign, at the time we are now writing of, could be seen in his bedroom, where, on the wall, rested his long-tailed officer's jacket, and alongside it his buckhorn-handled sword, which, from its appearance, was made in forges much nearer home than those of Toledo. His farm was carried on by just such primitive methods as might be expected from a man who was satisfied to follow in his father's footsteps. He never went to a blacksmith's shop, because he kept a forge on his own place, and could blow the bellows and turn a horseshoe as well as another. Neither did the shoemaker grow rich at his expense. Once the shoes were purchased, all repairs, until the article fell to pieces, were done by himself, with his cobbler's bench and tools.

Chapter 2.

A CALVINIST DIVINE.

My aunt had, as I have said, married this village merchant, McGregor, and I had some hope of his influence in the coming contest. At the same time I did not permit myself to become too sanguine. I had had an experience of his strong religious and political convictions some years before, which, unless the domestic tie should count, promised little help or assistance from that quarter. It is true the question of Roman

Catholic separate schools in Upper Canada was a more absorbing topic in the last election than I expected it would be in the one approaching, but it was hard to say what propaganda might not be inaugurated as soon as Parliament was dissolved. It will, perhaps, illustrate the public sentiment on the question which was abroad in the land if I relate a former experience I had with Mr. McGregor and his friends. It was January, 1859. My mother had been visiting her sister, and the time had come for her return. I, therefore, started one afternoon to drive the thirty miles which intervened, intending to return next day, and bring her home. There had been a heavy snowfall for some days, with at times a high wind, and as a result the roads were badly drifted, in some places the snow being five feet deep. The morning's traffic had broken a way and tramped down a kind of path, but serious was the predicament, when a team travelling the opposite direction, had to be passed. The rule of the road was that the nigh horse retained the right hand path and the unfortunate off horse of both sleighs had to flounder as best he could through the abyssmal depths. Happy was the driver who accomplished this encounter without having an upset or his horse thrown. After many difficulties and delays the village was reached, and pleased indeed was I to get within the hospitable home of my uncle, which was in the upper story of the shop in which he retailed his wares. In the morning the good merchant had finished his breakfast, and had gone to his work, about an hour before I followed him down stairs, and by this time I found a small circle of friends surrounding the large iron stove, some five feet in length, into which, from time to time, one of the clerks pushed a cordwood stick. On one side of the store was collected an assortment of all the dry goods that the gentler sex are supposed to require; on the other was a varied collection of boots and shoes and grocer-

ies, while down the middle, from the stove to the front door, were ranged in square towers, rolls of cloth suitable for male garments. On each side, and back of the stove, there was a comfortable space, in which half a score of persons might stand or sit. As I approached I remarked to myself that something of interest must be on, for the clerks were apparently very busy with duties that required their attendance within earshot of the speaker, who was holding forth to those around him.

I had never seen him before, but the Reverend Doctor Mungo McNish was well known in the community, and was the minister of the Presbyterian Church in the village. He had been trained for the ministry in Glasgow, where his mind assimilated the harshest and most uncompromising Calvinistic doctrines as readily as a child does his mother's milk. Total depravity of man, eternal torments of the wicked, predestination to heaven or hell, and similar teachings of the Geneva divine, were as real and certain truths to him as the gospel of Christ itself. His views respecting the Church of Rome were as narrow and intolerant as anywhere could be found amongst the Puritans of 200 years ago, and his Scripture exegesis of the Book of Revelations, to a devout Roman Catholic, might well be considered blasphemous. He was fearless in his denunciations of sin, whether in elder of the Kirk or in the bar-room loafer. He was a God-fearing man, and, in truth, he need be, for he feared neither man nor devil. His figure was thickset, and long, stiff, bristling eyebrows gave a somewhat ferocious aspect to his face, but this sternness was relieved by a kindly mouth, drawn up into corners in which dwelt the elves of humour and good nature.

Of those assembled, the most intelligent layman, aside from McGregor, was Kay, the village cooper, popularly known as Cooper Kay. As I drew near the

group I could observe in the doctor's hands the *Daily Globe* of the preceding day, which, owing to the long stage journey from London, only arrived late the night before, and just now had been brought from the post office. The little group was collected to hear the minister read the news, particularly the strong meat George Brown served up daily to his hungry followers. The reverend doctor looked over his spectacles at me as I approached, but ignoring my presence, began to read the editorial, pouring forth his words in loud and sonorous tones:—

The Exertions of the Hierarchy.

"Not alone in Canada, but in other portions of the British domains, the Roman Catholic hierarchy is girding up its loins for a contest with the friends and advocates of free education. The order seems to have gone forth, from the head of the church, to the priests spread throughout England and her colonies, to make a desperate effort to regain that power over the rising generation, which, happily with us, they have long since lost. We cannot but render a tribute of admiration to the way in which they go about their work. Isolated as the various parts of the Romish Church are, no sooner is the word given for them to press forward to the attainment of a certain end, than with one will they all obey. Varied as are the difficulties they have to encounter, they still preserve their skill in intrigue, and that utter remorselessness in the pursuit of their purpose, which has led them to so many victories against the greatest odds. Physical force, dire anathemas, superstitious tales and subtle logic they use, as the circumstances of each case require. When the aid of the Alcade may not be summoned, as in Spain, to tread out reviving freedom, they have recourse, as

in Canada, to the lowest arts of the politician and of the priest combined, to lay the foundation of a power which shall to the full work their will.

What better means, under present circumstances, present themselves for the accomplishment of such an object than that now adopted, the obtaining of the complete control over the education of youth.

The Catholic clergy probably have twenty thousand Upper Canada voters under their control, and do not hesitate to use them for the benefit of the hierarchy. It is the priestly power which is the greatest obstacle in the way of Canadian progress. It is to obtain the votes of the slaves of the Church that Upper Canada politicians abandon representation by population, and promise the extension of the separate school system.

Here the doctor stopped, and made the following comments on the editorial:—

"Anti-Christ again is raising its head: the war will not cease until Christ, our Great Captain, shall himself appear. Then shall Antichrist be destroyed even as the prophet John says." (With this he whipped from his breast pocket a small testament, and turning over the leaves rapidly, read) "Revelations xix and 19: And I saw the Beast and the Kings of the earth and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army, and the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the Beast, and them that worshipped his image; these both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone."

Cooper Kay here interjected, that in the meantime Antichrist seemed to be having much its own way in Canada.

"Of course," replied the doctor," the Scriptures must be fulfilled—see Revelations xiii and 7."

" And it was given unto him to make war with the Saints, and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds and tongues and nations."

" Is it perfectly clear, doctor," continued the cooper, " that by the Beast here is meant the Romish Church?"

" Beyond question. Read Revelations xvii and 3, and following verses:—

" So he carried me away in the spirit into a wilderness, and I saw a woman set upon a scarlet colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints. And the seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth."

" Who can doubt these Scriptures refer to Papacy, the great Antichrist. The city of Rome has been known through all ages as " The City on the Seven Hills." Even the early Romish Fathers, St. Jerome and St. Augustine, admit that Babylon here means Rome."

" Surely, doctor, they don't admit that their own church is the scarlet woman?" enquired the cooper.

" Of course not, but you must remember those early fathers lived before Rome became the corrupt church she is to-day. They, therefore, could only refer these words of the prophet to pagan Rome as it was in their time. But that Rome was Babylon, the City of Seven Hills, they never doubted. It was only during the Reformation days that the eyes of the world were open to the fact that these terrible denunciations were intended for Papacy. These words " the seven mountains on which the woman sitteth " are the key to the interpretation of the whole prophecy. This key being found, see how easily the Scripture unfolds itself. The verse says " arrayed in purple "— the purple has always been the kingly robe of empire

—" scarlet," " dyed with blood." These two colours, purple and scarlet, have always been the characteristic of the Romish Church, especially in the dress of the hierarchy. How symbolic this scarlet dress of the blood of the martyrs with which the woman has been drunken in Spain and Holland—aye, in England and Scotland, too. And now, in this Canada of ours, this same Antichrist would get its bloody hands upon our school system. God forbid ! Our forefathers in Scotland took up arms rather than prelacy should be forced upon them, and if we cannot drive back this wave of idolatry and superstition rolling in upon us, by reason of the weak-kneed, truckling politicians, of which there are so many in this province, traitors to their God and their country, we can still draw a sword to protect our children and our institutions, even as did the martyrs of old."

This outburst was received with exclamations of approval. " That's so, doctor; you have hit the nail on the head." When quiet was restored the doctor continued. " But what else has the *Globe* to say on this subject " :—

" And truly the British Empire has well earned their hate. For many years past their wrath has beaten against it, but as vainly as the waves against the Dover cliffs, or the rocky shores of our Gaspe. Still it stands forth in its freedom and greatness as the incarnate protest of humanity against priestly government in whatever form or shape."

The doctor again stopped his reading. " Even so. Here we have the fourteenth verse exemplified:

" And they shall make war with the lamb, and the lamb shall overcome them, for He is the Lord of Lords and King of Kings, and they that are with Him are called and chosen and faithful."

" Who, my friends, are the called and chosen and faithful, who fought with the Lamb against the Beast,

but England, that bulwark of Protestanism, against the waves of Romanism. As England does her part across the ocean, so must we on this side, although married against every law, human and divine, to the papists in Lower Canada. We must break the shackles that have held us in slavery for twenty years, and the first step must be to throw overboard the traitors who have gone to Parliament as our representatives, but, Judas-like, have betrayed both us and the country."

Having disposed of the political news to his entire satisfaction, the learned divine subsided, to read at his leisure the less interesting parts of the journal, with here and there a comment, until one by one the gathering broke up.

The information gained by this morning's experience was not readily forgotten. I became unalterably convinced that in such a settlement as Aldeborough and Southwood, a system fed on this sort of diet would have no use for the candidate who saw practical difficulties in the way of governing the country without the Roman Catholic vote, and desired to find a middle course. Such an one would probably receive the treatment of the Loadicians by the Apostle Paul, of whom he said, " Because thou art lukewarm and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth."

It was necessary, however, to face the situation, and I promptly drove out to Glammis a few days after my decision to run had been taken, but had little satisfaction for my pains. The best McGregor would promise was not to engage actively against me, and this he frankly admitted, was much against his inclinations, and only to satisfy his wife, who was my loyal supporter.

Chapter 3.

THE POLITICAL ISSUES.

It became necessary now that I should familiarize myself with the political issues which were likely to be agitated during the approaching election, namely : The separate school question, and representation by population.

I found that prior to the Act of Union in 1841, the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were entirely separate and distinct, each having its own representative chamber, the Legislative Assembly; and its own upper chamber, appointed by the Crown, the Legislative Council. Intense dissatisfaction had existed from the fact that the Governor ruled both provinces through an executive council of his friends, chosen by him from the most prominent men of British extraction in the country, but scarcely any of them were members of the Legislature, so that although in name both provinces had representative institutions, the people had no control over public affairs. Matters were bad enough in the upper province, but the executive council there at any rate were of the same race as the people; but in the lower province, although four-fifths of the inhabitants were of French descent, not a single member of the executive council was of that nationality, and all the public offices and the emoluments attending the same were in the hands of an alien race. The dissatisfaction arising from this state of affairs culminated in the rebellion of 1837, and was much more serious in the lower province than in the upper, but the strong arm of the military crushed out all open revolt. So widely spread and universal was the insurrectionary movement, that the English Government deemed it unsafe to intrust to the Lesgislative Assembly the little authority or power vested in that

body by law, and suspended the constitution. As a result, when Lord Durham came out to investigate affairs, he found the people of Lower Canada, removed as they were from all actual share in the government of their country, brooding in sullen silence over the memory of their fallen countrymen, of their burnt villages, of their ruined property, and of their humbled nationality. To the English oligarchy at Montreal, who controlled their affairs, they ascribed their wrongs, and nourished against them an indiscriminate and eternal animosity. At this time the population of Lower Canada was about six hundred thousand, of which three hundred and fifty thousand were of French extraction, while the population of Upper Canada was less than four hundred thousand. When the Act of Union was passed by the British Parliament, upon the report of Lord Durham, and one legislature was provided for the two provinces, it was thought necessary to preserve British institutions, and to prevent French control of the House of Assembly, to give an equal representation to each of the provinces, although according to population Lower Canada should have had three-fifths of all the members. Needless to say this was bitterly resented by the French Canadians, who saw themselves, by reason of the Lower Canada English vote, united to the solid Upper Canada vote, completely at the mercy of the English race. There opportunity, however, speedily came, and they were astute to take advantage of it. They found the English members split into sections, and soon discovered they could make their influence felt by an alliance with whichever section was willing to grant their demands. In 1850 a Bill was passed, with their assistance, providing for the establishment of Roman Catholic schools in Upper Canada, and permitting the taxes of Roman Catholics being devoted to their own instead of to the public schools. Certain obstacles, however, prevented

this legislation proving effective, and amendments were, from time to time, made. In 1855 a very strong agitation, the fuel for which was largely supplied by the *Globe* newspaper, was carried on in Upper Canada against any further amendments facilitating the extension of separate schools, and the issue became thereafter a burning one in the country. In 1856, a government, practically conservative, although nominally called coalition, owing to the presence in the Cabinet of some members of the reform party, held office until 1859, when, being left with a small majority upon a division in the House, they resigned. Mr. Brown then attempted to form a government, along with Mr. Dorion, of Montreal, but the Governor refused to afford his new advisers an opportunity to take the voice of the people by a dissolution, and the members of the Government, being unable constitutionally to defend themselves when attacked in the House, nor vote with their supporters upon a non-confidence motion, the administration, having lived only two days, resigned, and George E. Cartier, along with John A. Macdonald, again took office, a position they retained down to the time when this narrative commences.

As to representation by population. Since 1841 the tide of emigration to Canada had drifted almost entirely to the upper province, partly because of the indifference or opposition of the French Canadians to the granting of their lands to new settlers, and partly because of the similarity in race and religion of the new emigrants to the existing population in Upper Canada. The result was, that by 1859, instead of Upper Canada having two hundred and fifty thousand less of population than Lower Canada, it claimed to be two hundred and fifty thousand greater. It was now contended by the opposition from Upper Canada, that fully two-thirds of the taxes were collected in their province, but by reason of its equal representation in

the legislature, Lower Canada was able to control the disposition of the funds to its own advantage, and further, that it was opposed to the well-recognized principles of modern representative government, that this large body of people, two hundred and fifty thousand in number, should go practically unrepresented. In 1859, a convention of the Upper Canada opposition was held in Toronto, having representatives from every section of the province, when it was decided to form a Union for the purpose of arousing public opinion, so that all Upper Canada members should be pledged to vote for representation according to population. As a result a very large majority of the members, including some supporters of the Government, were pledged to vote for any resolution in the House in its favour. Mr. Carling and Mr. Macbeth, two of the Conservative members from my own district, had so pledged themselves at the election in 1859.

What attitude to take on this question was the problem I had to face, and I deemed it fortunate that the Attorney General West, the Honourable John A. Macdonald, had promised to attend a banquet to be given in London to Mr. Carling on the 13th of June, to which I had been invited. I was present upon the arrival of the Minister, and, along with some others, met him in the parlour of the Tecumseh House, to discuss the elections. Mr. Becher and Hon. Mr. Portman were also present. Each of these gentlemen was desirous of being the candidate in the Tory interests in East Middlesex, and neither felt disposed to give way to the other. Some unpleasantness ensued, and the efforts of our leader at that time seemed to be inffectual to harmonize matters, but subsequently Mr. Becher gave way.

In reply to my inquiries as to the best way to meet

the issue of representation by population, Mr. Macdonald said:—

"It is useless to ignore the fact that the opposition have a most popular cry in Upper Canada, and in some constituencies my friends have been compelled to pledge themselves to support such a measure, or otherwise imperil their election. If many more, however, do this, the Government will certainly suffer defeat when it meets the House. It is, therefore, most important to avoid such a pledge, where it is at all possible. Your riding is considered sufficiently safe to permit of your running as an out and out supporter of the Government, and your course should be that which I myself propose to follow, and which I shall announce at the dinner to-night, to contend that the present compaign is simply Union on the one hand and Dissolution of the Union on the other, as the Grits have committed themselves irrevocably to dissolution, both in their organs and in their convention, while we are the constitutional party, and we claim on this ground, as well as for the good legislation we have passed during the last four years, the support of all patriotic citizens; and we ask them to rally around a Government which stands for loyalty to Canadian institutions and to the Empire."

A few days after this interview, on the 18th, the Toronto *Leader,* the recognized organ of our party in Upper Canada, elaborated this line of action in an editorial, in which the paper spoke as follows:—

Election Contest—The Principles at Issue.

"In this contest the principles at issue between the two parties are broad and well defined. Both parties are so distinctly committed to their respective sides on certain great questions, that they cannot withdraw or recede. On the eve of a contest which is to decide the fate of the parties, and of the country, for

four years, there ought to be no mistake in the minds of any portion of the electors as to the questions to be decided.

There is, first and foremost, the question of Union or Dissolution. This is the question of questions. To the opposition, a simple dissolution of the existing Union is not enough; they insist on carrying the destruction of political society still further, and subdivide the broken halves in which they propose to rend this province. Having done this, having created three or four local governments, with as many distinct sets of offices, they propose a joint committee of the several legislatures to manage all the really important affairs of the two provinces. The revenue, the public debt, sinking fund, post office, public works, navigation, and criminal and commercial legislation. All they would leave to the local legislatures would be mere parish business; all the important affairs they would hand over to the joint committee of these legislatures. * * * * We say that a cruder or more absurd scheme was never propounded by the wildest theorist for the government of a country. The Unionists refuse to listen *to the first step* in the work of demolition being taken. They know that although no political system can claim absolute perfection, the Union has produced immense benefits to the whole of Canada."

This was followed, on the 27th, by a further editorial, entitled:—

The Grit-Rouge Coalition—The Distinct Understanding.

"There is every reason to believe that the scheme of dividing Canada into two or more provinces originated with the two-day (Brown-Dorion) Ministry. Mr. Brown, in his Toronto Exchange speech, referring to his abortive government, says: 'Earnest discussions

followed as to the character of the desired protections (for Lower Canada), and the mode for securing them. Whether by a written constitution proceeding direct from the people, or by a Canadian Bill of Rights, guaranteed by Imperial Statute, or by *the adoption of a Federal Union, with provincial rights guaranteed, in place of the legislative Union which now exists.'"*

The paper goes on to say:—

"It is important to inquire why this scheme was broached at this particular time. * * * * The question of making such division of the province was not before the country. It originated with Messrs. Brown and Dorion, and when they were ejected from their two-day term of office, they accepted it as their common platform. Mr. Dorion and some of his colleagues in Lower Canada indicated this scheme as the one that ought to be accepted, before it was adopted by the Toronto convention in 1859. *Thus then we have traced the treason to its source."*

I must frankly own that in this election, as a party we threw overboard, for the time being, as a platform, a federal Union of the provinces, although some have said we consistently supported that policy from 1859 until it was actually consummated in 1867.

Chapter 4.

NOMINATION.

Nomination day for my riding was fixed for the 29th of June, and my friends had made great preparations therefor. Although then, as now, either party at the hustings had the right to demand a poll, it was

always considered good policy to make as great a show on this occasion as possible. It was found that weak-kneed voters were often influenced in favour of the party showing strongest at nomination, because it was thought an indication of the winning side. My agents, therefore, had been making special efforts, and as a result, when we drove up to the village of Wallacetown, where the returning officer was directed to hold the election for the riding, the roads from every quarter were crowded with men and boys hastening to the gathering. The Barton House was our headquarters, and soon I was engaged in shaking the hands of my workers from all parts of the riding. Upon inquiry, I found my friends feeling rather discouraged, owing to the enormous turn-out of the Grits, who seemed to have swarmed from the farthest corners of the district, while Aldeborough and Southwold, where my opponent's friends were largely in the majority, seemed to be present in his favour to a man. I tried to cheer them up, however, saying that I thought we had the best speaking talent with us, for I relied much on my friend, Lawyer Williams, of London, and besides, the returning officer was naturally one of our friends, and would see that we got at least fair play. We shortly proceeded to the hustings, which was a platform erected in front of the town hall, and with some difficulty elbowed our way through the surging crowd. At 12 o'clock, the hour appointed, the returning officer, Sheriff Rapelje, called for nominations. There were only two, and thereupon the candidates and one supporter each were allowed to address the electors. I must confess to some tremors, but keeping closely to the lines laid down by our papers, and avoiding all reference to either representation by population, or sectarian schools, I succeeded in acquitting myself, if not with much honour, at any rate without covering my friends and supporters with disgrace.

My opponent Knox was a giant in physique, and no puny antagonist in debate. He rang the changes, as I expected he would, upon representation by population; the truckling to Romanism by the dastardly crew who ruled the ship of state; and succeeded in obtaining very hearty and prolonged applause from his supporters. Mr. Williams followed, and revealed the personal history of my opponent, in a way that brought forth roars of applause from our friends. He proved him to be an English chartist, who only escaped prison in England by running away to America; that he was compelled to clear out from the States owing to his abolitionist views; that he was, in short, nothing but an adventurer and professional patriot, with antecedents so bad that no respectable people would associate with him or suffer him to live any time in their community.

By this time party feeling had reached an exploding point, and it only needed a small match to set everything in a flame. The match was not long wanting. Mr. Sheriff now came forward, and requested a show of hands, first for Mr. Vansittart, and then for Mr. Knox. Mr. Knox appeared to have the majority, and rousing cheers were given for my opponent. My friend, the sheriff, however, had plenty of pluck, and did not propose to see me turned down in this summary manner. He thereupon announced that he was unable to say who had the show of hands. The Grit joy was at once turned to rage, and cries of "divide, divide,' 'were heard on all hands, almost splitting the ear. The returning officer, unable to do otherwise, then directed the Vansittart supporters to go to the right, and the Knoxites to the left. The result was less satisfactory than ever. The sheriff, at his wit's end, stared vacantly before him, but at length gathered himself together, and announced that, as far as he could see, Mr. Vansittart had the show of hands.

All this time my opponent Knox stood on the other side of the platform, fairly livid with rage, and gesticulating in the wildest manner, but when he understood the returning officer had given the show of hands against him, unable to control himself any longer, and driven to desperation, he made a rush at the sheriff, with hand uplifted as if prepared to strike. I saw him coming, and reached out my arm to prevent his violence, when, like a maddened bull, he turned upon me, struck at my head, but in his passion only reached my hat, which he sent flying down into the crowd. Then, seizing me by the collar of the coat, before I could realize what was being done, he had tossed me off the platform upon the crowd beneath. Fortunately for me, I fell into friendly hands, but while they helped me to my feet, a scene had commenced which beggars description. As if actuated by a single impulse, the whole mass of people dashed towards the hustings, and in headlong rush came tumbling up over chairs and tables. Immediately hundreds of infuriated people were crowding upon the platform, and in an instant it was a seething mass of roaring, fighting maniacs. Many of those on the platform, afraid that it would collapse under the terrific pressure, recklessly jumped upon those below, while some were pushed over the edge by the pressure of those coming on.

The scene of violence and confusion lasted fully fifteen minutes. When order at last was restored, it was found that beyond a number of blackened eyes, swollen faces, and bleeding heads, no great injury had resulted.

To settle the difficulty, I demanded a poll, and the returning officer thereupon directed that a poll should be held on Monday, the 8th, and Tuesday, the 9th, days of July next.

My misfortunes had endeared me to my followers, and no sooner had I descended from the hustings than I was lifted upon the shoulders of two strapping youths, and carried in triumph to the Barton House, where, as my duty demanded, refreshments suited to their requirements were distributed to my followers at my expense.

Chapter 5.

A POLITICAL MEETING.

My opponent had obtained the township hall, and called a meeting for the Wednesday following the nomination, at the village of Fingal, situated pretty well in the centre of my stronghold in the Talbot settlement. It was considered desirable by my friends that our supporters should turn out in large numbers so as to control the meeting, while a number of speakers and active Tories from London, St. Thomas and Port Stanley should attend to enthuse our friends and discourage our opponents. Due notice of our intentions was, therefore, sent abroad, and on the appointed evening we met at the Fingal House, and from thence proceeded to the town hall, which was then already fully two-thirds filled with our own friends. Without delay, and before Mr. Knox and his friends had arrived, we chose a chairman from our own supporters, and one of the speakers in my interest began to address the meeting. He had not more than fairly made a start when our opponents turned up. At first they were nonplussed at the situation, but when they had decided upon a course of action, Mr. Knox came forward to the platform, and interrupting the speaker, addressed

the Chair. His attempt was met by a storm of catcalls and hoots, and cries of chartist, traitor, yankee, &c., so that his voice was completely drowned, but his gestures, the working of his mouth, and the animated expression of his features, indicated that he was making a supreme effort to get a hearing.

When the disturbance had proceeded some minutes, it was evident that the meeting must break up in disorder unless an arrangement was come to, and I thereupon stood up and proposed to him, that he and his friends should come upon the platform, and the meeting should be addressed alternately by speakers from each side. At first he refused to do anything of the kind, claiming that the meeting was his; the hall had been paid for by him; that our conduct was an outrage on all decency, and he would never speak with our chairman in the chair. After some further parley a compromise was effected. We agreed that the chairman should retire in favour of one nominated by him, and that we should speak alternately, and they should have the final reply. On these terms matters settled down.

I shall not weary the reader by an extended account of the speeches, many of them containing little worth recalling. Knox, however, was a very intelligent man, and had studied the political questions closely, and some of his remarks are worth repeating, because they epitomize the line of argument used throughout the country in this campaign. He first took up the principle of representation by population, showing its fairness if representative institutions are not to be considered wholly a sham. He pointed out that in England it took a long struggle to get rid of the rotten pocket boroughs in which less than a dozen electors sent a member to Parliament, while hundreds of thousands of ratepayers in certain cities were absolutely disfranchised. The Reform Bill in England

had largely put an end to that scandal. But here in Canada, Mr. Cartier had, in his address to the French electors, announced his fiat, that let the result of the new census be what it may, representation by population should not be conceded.

He then read from the press reports of Mr. Cartier's speech in the late House, in which he said:—

"I care no more for your three hundred thousand Upper Canadian than for so many codfish in Gaspe Basin."

And demanded how a self-respecting Upper Canadian could vote to sustain a Government having such a man as its leader. He must be certain that his pointed insults hurled against Upper Canadians would rankle and inflame.

Their opponents accused the Reformers of being disloyal subjects, and advocates of dissolution of the Union, but what could be Mr. Cartier's motive, except to arouse those who speak his own language to a war of race; to place himself at the head of an inflammatory party in his own province. As for the Reform party, they hurled back with scorn the charge that they were inciting a race war in Upper Canada. On the contrary, it was the First Minister of the Crown who threatened the race war by his appeals to his fellow French Canadians. But let him beware! No man was strong enough to utter such a menace against the English-speaking population; against two-thirds of the whole population of this dependency. The English-speaking people was a slow match, hard to kindle, but equally hard to extinguish, and to those who address it in language of menace, let them beware! He then turned his attention to the Attorney General West, Mr. John A. Macdonald, accusing him of sacrificing Upper Canadian interests to remain in power, and twitted the Tories upon being led by a man who intro-

duced bar-room language and actions into the House, and read the following account of a scene, from a newspaper he held in his hand:—

"Last night (April 19th) Attorney General Macdonald, in the course of his speech, read a sentence from Mr. Mowat's speech at the Toronto convention, to show that he had abandoned representation by population. Mr. Mowat rose and read the whole passage, saying the Attorney General had given a false impression of his sentiments. When the Speaker left the Chair, Mr. Macdonald, followed by Mr. Macbeth, stepped across the floor, and flourishing his fist in Mr. Mowat's face, said: You —— pup, I will slap your chops." Mr. John S. Macdonald stepped between the parties and separated them."

"Served him right," cried many from the audience, and the speaker could not obtain a hearing for some time. He finally closed his remarks by asking the support of the electors, and pledging himself to use every effort to obtain a fair representation in the House for the increased population of Upper Canada.

In reply to this, I first pointed out that representation by population was unknown under the English system of government. That even under the Reform Bill the county of Middlesex, with one and a half millions of people, had only four representatives, whereas, under the vaunted system of representation by population, its proportion of members in the British House would be in the neighbourhood of thirty-five. I showed also that the population of Lower Canada was 250,000 in excess of Upper Canada in 1841 and for many years thereafter, and if the pendulum had swung the other way, matters were no more unfair than before; and in any c ent Lower Canada had started to catch up, and probably in a few years the population of the two provinces would be about equal. Finally I asked if it was

fair, or honest, or even decent, to assail the personal characters of public men, in their absence, when unable to refute the vile calumnies which irresponsible newspapers and individuals might report about them. But to judge the Government by its actions during the last four years in giving good legislation to the people, and an honest and economical administration of the public affairs, and to show by their votes, that whatever apparent disadvantages the people of Upper Canada might temporarily labour under, their patriotism and their loyalty to English connection were strong enough to outweigh these minor evils in consideration of the greater good which was obtained by the continuance of the present legislative union between the provinces.

Chapter 6.

POLLING DAY.

Monday, the 8th of July, the first day of the elections, at last arrived. My intention was to drive around with my chief agent during the day to the polling divisions in the north part of the riding; receive the reports of my agents at each, and generally supervise the getting out of the vote, leaving the same work in the southern division for the second day of the poll. The weather was hot and the roads dusty, and by night, when I returned to Fingal to receive the reports from the different divisions, I was as nearly done out as one well could be and keep up. It was nearly midnight before the results of the first day's vote were in, and we found that our opponents had beaten us by about sixty votes. Our chagrin and dis-

may was great, and some felt disposed to give up the fight, but not so Colonel Axford. The reverse only stiffened his determination to win at all hazards, and his stirring words soon aroused the flagging enthusiasm of my committee. He pointed out that but a small vote had been polled in the two townships, Bayham and Norwich, which had always given a large majority to the Conservative candidate in the past, and that no doubt a large section, whose interest in elections was limited to their pockets, did not propose to vote until they received some financial equivalent therefor. He knew the Bayham *lambs* of old; they were a rough, lawless crowd, and included men who brewed more whisky without the help of an excise officer than you could find in all the rest of the province together. Most of the men were poor and illiterate, and they must be brought into line. I protested against any corrupt use of money, saying I would be no party to it. The Colonel then said he would take the responsibility of the campaign for next day, and I had better leave the matter with himself and the committee, which I was not unwilling to do, and bidding them good morning, drove home very depressed.

Early next day, Cranshaw, my agent, called for me to go to the south townships, as we had previously arranged to do, and having nothing better in hand, I consented. I did not reach Bayham until 4 o'clock, and found a lively time in progress. It appeared that, under the colonel's direction, the *lambs*, now most devoted in their attachment to my person, and enthusiastic for the cause of good government, had surrounded the polling booth by half-past eight in the morning, with the ostensible object of getting their votes enrolled as early as possible. More than fifty of them formed a close cordon around the door, and no Grit up to this time had got within five paces of that much-desired object. If he attempted to do so, he was first

told that those who came first were entitled to vote first; which, on its face, was not an unfair claim. As the day, however, wore on, and the *lambs* votes were only polled at the rate of about one in ten minutes (we are now dealing with the days of open voting), it began to dawn upon them, that at this rate of progress, their votes would not be registered before 5 o'clock. When this fact became apparent, they tried to rush the *lambs* by forming a wedge-shaped mass, and driving towards the door of the polling booth. A scuffle ensued, and as a result a big Scotchman at the apex of the wedge, although badly handled, with nose streaming with blood, and clothes torn, managed to reach the door and forced himself inside. The crowd without, when this became known, was furious with rage, and made a desperate effort to drag the two constables away from the door, so as to get at the voter who had eluded their grasp. The officers of the law battled manfully to keep the peace, and protect the elector in the fair exercise of his franchise, and his vote was duly entered by the poll clerk. Now, however, the pressure outside became too strong, and taking the door by storm, half a dozen of my followers burst into the polling booth, and in defiance of the majesty of the law, seized the luckless voter, and pitched him headlong through the window into the hands of his friends without. The Scotchman escaped with his life, though sorely bruised, and with just enough raiment upon him to hide his nakedness; but he was the hero of the day to his friends and compatriots, who loved him for the dangers he had passed, and carried him off to drown his sufferings in the "flowing bowl."

I found upon inquiry that in point of fact my supporters in the crowd had practically all voted, and that besides keeping out their opponents, they were anxiously awaiting the arrival of a detachment of

Yankees and foreigners from the far corner of the township, who, although on the pool-book as voters, were of the impression, as claimed by the Grits, that they were not entitled to vote, being aliens. Soon they were spied coming in waggons up the Longwoods road, with Lawyer Williams at their head and Colonel Axford in the rear, urging them on like a shepherd his flock. His fine military hand was then seen as the *lambs* opened up their ranks, and allowed the new contingent to reach the door of the booth. Although aware that these votes would carry the day, our opponents had had enough fight, and their crowning effort having only resulted in the polling of one vote, they gave up the battle, and drifted away to their respective homes.

I was at this time but a novice at electioneering, and knew little of election law, and although having grave doubts as to the propriety of these proceedings, I did not see how I could interfere, especially as Lawyer Williams told each voter that he could safely take the oath which was tendered him by the deputy returning officer.

How much or how little perjury took place that day, I do not know, as the committee on elections and privileges that dealt with such matters in those days, instead of the courts, never was called upon to determine. However, when the final results were announced, Ralph Vansittart was declared elected by a majority over Knox of seventy votes.

Chapter 7.

THREATENINGS OF WAR.

For some days after the election, I took matters easy. I was really pretty well exhausted by the physi-

cal exertion attendant upon the campaign, as well as the mental strain which a first election necessarily imposed upon a new candidate. Part of this time I spent on my uncle's veranda, listening as he propounded his philosophy of living, or watching him with his small pocket microscope inspecting the minute organs of some flower for the purpose of placing it in its proper order in his herbarium. "Yes," he said one day, "there was much in the philosophy of your Latin poets, Lucretius and Horace, which we moderns could well copy. This everlasting scramble for the almighty dollar is a most deplorable feature of our national life. We, in Canada, have begun to copy the Americans in this, and we bring everything to the touchstone of *dollars*. With most people there is no other measure of value. How humiliating that the ideal man which captivated the imagination of our youth no longer is desired. Who admires the chivalrous, honourable, cultured, refined and christian gentleman? The man we run after, whose career fills all the press, is the man who counts his millions by the hundreds. Oh, admirable age! A man whose name was in everybody's mouth, the other day, when asked to mention the summit and crown of human ambition, replied ," To be the richest man in the United States." What is the result of this chase for gold? A world of unsatisfied beings, ever weary, ever anxious—unable to stop the mental mill that runs and runs and runs, until the overburdened mind at last collapses, and the wearied spirit finds rest only in the grave. A world of beauty that was given us by an all-wise and all-beneficent Creator to enjoy; endowed with faculties to appreciate these gifts; yet, the veriest slave in the markets of Rome had more real happiness than many of the wealthiest and most honoured of the world's magnates. It is a sight to make angels weep, to see humanity stumbling and struggling on-

ward through life, and missing all the richest gifts of God in a senseless, maddened rush after some fancied good, which, when attained, proves most often the ashes of Sodom. The great majority of our people, by ordinary exertions, can obtain a comfortable living. Instead of being satisfied with this, they strive for more, and still more, until finally the means has become the end, and life is passed before their sordid aspirations have been ralized. If happiness is the *summum bonum* of life, are we not, in grasping for the shadow, losing the substance that always is at our command? Well did Horace say, *carpe diem dum loquimur fugerit invida Aetas.*

But, enough of this. I wanted to see you particularly this morning. I have a letter from Colonel Bradford, of the Rifles, stating that the company in Montreal and the two in Kingston have orders to move to London, and that he will be in command of all the regular troops here. He says he has some special instructions from the General commanding—Sir Fenwick Williams—and as an old comrade in arms, wishes to talk them over with me. They propose to arrive next Saturday,, and I want you to drive in with me."

I readily assented to this, as I had a number of friends amongst the officers whom I was always glad to meet. Saturday morning, therefore, saw us on our way to the city. A smart shower the day before had laid the dust, making the drive a very pleasant one. The scenery along the bank of the river which the road follows was as charming as anything any land could show. The harvesters were getting well to work with the fall wheat, and the golden grain stood in stacks with military precision. We reached the station a short time only before the train arrived, and watched with interest the troops detrain, and had time to shake hands with the Colonel and Major Moffat,

and also some of the officers, before the men fell into line, and to the enlivening music of the Rifle band, marched to the barracks. I did not see my uncle again until it was time to return, but when he did appear, I could see from his countenance that he was thinking more deeply than usual. When we got well started, he told me what was on his mind. It appeared the War Office had written General Williams that their agents in the United States reported very alarming news, and that war with England was imminent. As a result, it was proposed to send out to the defence of Canada about ten thousand troops. I should now describe the situation in the United States, and its bearing upon Canada.

The American war, which was fated to continue until the spring of 1865, had commenced on the 13th of April preceding our conversation, by the capture of Fort Sumter, near Charleston, by the Confederates. A few days later, President Lincoln called into his service seventy-five thousand troops, which had been for some time stationed at Washington, and along the line of railway on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, faced by an equal army of Confederates. For some time a very active newspaper warfare had been going on against Canada, led by the New York *Herald*, which teemed with denunciations, threats and insults against the English Government, and fulsome support of the Republican Administration. Accordingly, in Canada and England, this was looked upon as indicating a settled purpose on the part of the Government to provoke a war with England at whatever hazard and whatever cost.

Referring to the eventualities of war, the *Herald* said:—

"Canada would not maintain a struggle against us for a month. Geographically, she belongs to the United States, and there is every reason to believe that

if we were to send an army there sufficient for their protection, its inhabitants would at once declare their independence of the Mother Country. In the upper province there is a decided preference for our institutions."

This last statement was based upon some injudicious remarks made in debate in the Canadian Legislature, on the 17th of April preceding, by Mr. McDougall, who said:—

"If this sort of relief (representation by population) should fail, the Anglo-Saxon race will not rest quiet; they will resort to some other plan. There are relations of an intimate kind with the people of the other side of the line, and it is natural to suppose that they will look in that direction for the remedy which they are unable to obtain elsewhere. Suppose that in addition to our political grievances and present commercial difficulties there was a bad harvest and consequent distress, then the people having been denied justice would have no alternative but to look to Washington.

Upon another occasion, about the same time, the *Herald* said, referring to Canada:—

"When they are annexed to this republic, it is only a question of time, a question which may receive its solution before the termination of the present year, we will show them the way to act an independent part, and to assert the dignity and freedom of the Anglo-Saxon race."

In like manner, other New York journals seized upon every occasion, and resorted to every device to sting the sensibilities, wound the pride, repel the sympathy and alarm the fears of the English people. They recommended, day after day, the instant march of an army into Canada, under the pretext that the South would instantly join the North, and thus the rebellion would be ended. They contended that

as the Government had a large military force on foot, it would be folly not to crush her enemy, and pointed out that it would be only anticipating the Government's ultimate action, as the army certainly would be used for that purpose after the war was ended. The *Herald* pretended to act as the mouthpiece of Mr. Seward (Secretary of State), and having the largest circulation of any paper in the United States, it no doubt represented the sentiments of the great body of the people.

This question proved a fruitful subject of discussion, but its interest culminated in November, when the Trent affair aroused a burst of patriotic ardour throughout the length and breadth of Canada unknown since the war of 1812.

Before dealing with this episode in Canadian affairs, I should first recall the beginning of my acquaintanceship with the Hon. D'Arcy McGee, then plain Thomas D'Arcy McGee, which was destined to influence very materially my after life, although at the time not thought to be of much significance. Mr. McGee was the member for Montreal West, having sat in Parliament since 1858. His career had been a most eventful one, and many of its details will appear as my story proceeds; but it is sufficient here to say that he was, during the rebellion in Ireland, in 1848, one of the leaders of the Young Irish Party that precipitated that ill-fated movement. A reward was offered for his arrest, but he succeeded in escaping to the United States, where he remained until he came to Montreal in 1857. Although so hot-headed in youth, since his coming to Canada he had entirely changed his attitude towards English connection, and now, for many years, was the most representative Irishman in Canada in supporting the continuance of our constitutional relationship with the British Crown, and in strengthening the feeling of loyalty in

the minds and hearts of the three hundred thousand Irishmen who had made a home in Canada. His reputation as a poet, a man of letters, and particularly his brilliancy as a speaker on public affairs, both in and out of the House, had spread his fame abroad throughout the country, and although he was one of the ablest opponents of the Government of which I had been returned a supporter, I thought it a proper recognition of his patriotism, that I should accept an invitation from the committee which had invited him to speak in the city hall, in London, on the evening of October 16th, on the subject of Canada's interest in the American civil war. I made some notes of his address at the time, which may not be without interest. He first described the tie existing between Canada and the Mother Country, as composed of links light as air, yet as strong as iron; that we were a people with absolutely complete domestic self-government, with local liberties bound up in an Imperial Union, and were governed by a majority of our own representatives, constitutionally ascertained. He pointed out, nevertheless, the impossibility of remaining insensible of the great struggle going on across the border. And the first question that presented itself to us, he said, was, Are the southern States engaged in a lawful resistance to federal despotism, or is it a wanton assault upon legitimate central authority? He then reviewed American history, and established the fact that the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in that document rejected the modern doctrine respecting slavery held by the South, but, on the contrary, viewed slavery as a baleful tree, to be girdled and finally cut down, rather than to be propagated and fostered. He said that of late years the doctrine has been taught in the Southern States, that slavery was national, not local, eternal, not temporary; and as it is the nature of one falsehood to be unable to stand alone, so this

fallacy had begotten a false philosophy to strengthen it, and a false theology to sanctify it. He further pointed out that the constitution in no place admits the right of any State to withdraw. That secession, therefore, was merely a question of force and revolution. He showed how Canada's interest was entirely one with the North, and placed the blame for the change in public opinion which had taken place since the opening of the war, upon certain New York journals, whereby sympathy with the North had become largely turned to the South.

This address was delivered with much force and eloquence. His impassioned manner added weight to the logical argument addressed to his hearers' mind, resulting in a conviction of the sincerity of the speaker, as well as of the soundness of his conclusions.

Chapter 8.

THE TRENT AFFAIR.

During the autumn months a feeling of distrust and unrest was generally apparent throughout the province, as if premonitory of some coming catastrophe. Volunteer companies were organized in nearly every town and village, and drill was being carried on wherever one went.

This was the condition of affairs when all Canada was startled, about the middle of November, by the despatches from New York and Washington, announcing the capture of Messrs. Mason and Sliddell, two envoys of the Southern Confederacy, on board the English mail steamer, "The Trent," en route from Havana to St. Thomas, where they were to take the regular monthly packet ship for England.

The facts, shortly, were these. Captain Wilkes, of the American cruiser, "San Jacinto," while in Havana harbour, became aware of the intention of the Southern envoys, and knowing the date at which the "Trent" would sail, placed his ship across the Bahama channel to intercept her. The "Trent" refused to stop upon signal, until a shell across her bows indicated she would be sunk unless she did so. An officer from the "San Jacinto" thereupon came to the "Trent," and with more or less force, and in spite of protests, removed the envoys to the "San Jacinto," and Captain Wilkes, upon getting possession of them, steamed for Boston, where they were imprisoned in Fort Warren. The whole of the Northern States rang with plaudits upon the skill and courage of Captain Wilkes, and the important service he had rendered the Union. The Secretary of the Navy even expressed his congratulations upon the successful exploit. The few Americans who gave the matter any thought, recognized that the overhauling a neutral ship, and forcibly removing passengers might involve serious national complications with England, and that, perhaps, Captain Wilkes had done the Union greater injury than all the gunboats of the rebels. There was through the North a general enquiry, "What will England say?" but the most anyone conceded was, "We will make an apology, but we can't give up the prisoners." The streets of her great cities buzzed with the talk, the hotels roared with it; amongst the crowd all was delight and excitement. In Canada the situation was realized to be serious, but England had so patiently borne, with other causes of offence, during the preceding six months, that it was generally thought she would not make the return of the prisoners a *casus belli*. At the same time, the insults of the New York press were so gross, that if its utterances fairly represented public opinion in the United States, it

seemed scarcely credible that a high-spirited people would submit to be treated in this manner with impunity. A few days after the occurrence, the New York *Herald* said:—"The feeling of the North is strongly in favour of wresting Canada from the power of England. The idea of war with England alarms no one, but is rather spoken of with complacency than otherwise." Again, on the 26th, the same journal said:—"England would look twice before she leaps, and think twice before she goes to war with twenty-five millions of free men, who already owe her a grudge, for the sake of two men with whom we have a quarrel. Right glad will she be if we let her alone, as is intimated by Lord Palmerston and the London press. But it is not likely she will long enjoy this immunity. The rebellion is rapidly breaking up. There will then be a million of men in arms, left free to settle the question of Mason and Sliddell, and all old scores with England. We have a long account with her to wipe out."

We had become habituated to these insults, and not until time could be afforded for the conveyance of the intelligence to England, and the receipt of reply, would it be possible to anticipate the effect of the seizure of the envoys upon the English people. It was figured that the first intelligence would reach England on the 25th of November, and an account of its effect would be received by the SS. "Kangaroo," leaving Liverpool for New York on the 27th; or the "Anglo-Saxon," leaving for Portland on the 28th; or the "Europa," leaving for Halifax on the 30th. It will be remembered the Atlantic cable was not yet laid. In the meantime, the Government of Canada, acting in consort with the military authorities, were making such preparations as they could, in view of possible difficulties with the United States. On the 5th December, when in London, I found that the 60th

Rifles had been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move from Quebec to Montreal, and take the place of the 47th Regiment, which would be moved to London, while the Royal Canadian Rifles, now stationed here, would be hastened to the western frontier, and the forces here, strengthened by a battery of artillery. It was also announced that the 62nd and 63rd Regiments now at Halifax would be moved up to Canada by the same overland route that was used in the troubles of '37.

At this time the Commander in Chief of the forces in Canada was Sir Fenwick Williams, whose heroic defence of Kars during the Crimean war had spread his renown to the uttermost corners of the earth. It was felt that no better officer could possibly be in charge of the Canadian defences. Colonel Bradford informed me the same day, that General Williams had advised the immediate raising of eight regiments of militia, which should be brought forward as rapidly as possible to a state of efficiency, and that Major Shanly's battery of artillery would be ordered out for service immediately.

As the time approached for the receipt of news from England, the excitement throughout the province ran high. The fact that the American press, with almost complete unanimity, approved of the action of Captain Wilkes, and denounced, in the most savage way, any suggestion that his action should be disapproved of, and the prisoners released, convinced the most hopeful that war was not only possible, but a most probable eventuality. On the 10th December, I was again in the city, and found war the all-absorbing and only subject of conversation. Every few paces along the street you would find a small crowd interestedly discussing the Mason and Slidell outrage; the news from England; the erection of forts, and the probabilities of a fight with the Americans.

The strain during the next two weeks became more and more intense. On the 13th, the SS. "Hansa," from Bremen, arrived at Sandy Hook, having called at Southampton on the 27th, the day after the news of the affair reached England, and on the 14th copies of the comments of the London *Times, Daily News, Star,* and other English papers, were reproduced in Canada. The tone of all the press was, that England would expect the American Government to promptly disavow the act, and release Mason and Sliddell, with an apology, and that until there was time to receive news from America, they felt bound to believe the act was done in excess of duty, as undoubtedly it was in violation of public law.

Further news from England arrived by the "City of Washington," which left Liverpool on October 4th. The columns of the English press continued to be filled with denunciations of the outrage on the British flag.

A few weeks before, I had promptly acceded to the suggestion of Col. Axford, and accepted the position of major and adjutant of the Middlesex Sedentary Militia, of which he was commanding officer, and held consultations almost daily with him in respect to the organization of the battalion.

At this time Canada had an active force of militia consisting of 5,000 men of the three arms, cavalry, artillery and infantry, all armed and equipped by the Government. In addition to this, all the male inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 60, not exempted for special reasons, formed a reserve force called the sedentary militia. This force had officers appointed to it, consisting of a colonel for each military district, and a lieutenant-colonel for each batallion. These officers had the power to appoint majors, captains and other subordinate officers. The force, however, only existed on paper. The militia had never been called

out, and in most divisions the only officers actually appointed were the lieutenant-colonels. It was thought, however, that in a time of emergency, these skeleton battalions could be filled up and made to do efficient service. Its weakness, however, was apparent in that no equipment was provided for the troops, and it would be impossible to arm and drill them on short notice so as to be at all effective.

Chapter 9.

THE TRENT AFFAIR CONTINUED.

The occurrences of which I am now writing are more than forty years old, and although familiar to the older generation, I find this episode in our national life almost unknown to most of the people of to-day. For this reason, even at the risk of exhausting the patience of many of my readers, I have thought it worth while to copy verbatim my diary of the next ten days, which will convey a more just conception of public feeling and public activity than I could give in any other way.

December 17th.—Went to the city this morning with Colonel Vansittart. A feverish state of excitement exists. News brought by the steamers from England read with the greatest avidity by everybody. Nothing but the prospects of war spoken of in all quarters, and by all classes. Toronto papers contain militia order from Colonel Dennison, commandant of the 5th military district, active force, directing all officers in his district to get their respective corps up to full strength, with men willing to take the field on short notice, in view of the foreign relations of Great

Britain on this side of the Atlantic. The Toronto *Leader* says: "There now remains scarcely a gleam of hope that peace will be preserved between England and the United States. Canada may become the battlefield, and it is our duty to prepare for a contingency which now appears to be only too certain." The *Globe* also says: "The news of to-day is calculated to excite the gravest apprehension of a collision between the United States and the Mother country. Before many weeks go by, we may be called upon to defend our soil from the grasp of invading armies," and urges its friends and readers to join heartily in the formation of rifle companies, treating with scorn the suggestion of some eastern contemporaries, that the peninsula of Upper Canada should be abandoned to the enemy, saying, "It was defended before, it will be defended again. With God's blessing we will not yield an inch of our soil to the invader." It is most gratifying to find this universal feeling of loyalty existing amongst the people. The papers also announce the arrival, on the 15th, at Halifax, of the "Europa," which sailed from Liverpool on the 30th November. The important part of the English mails are telegraphed to Canada from Halifax, and show that the Privy Council was held at Windsor on the 29th and 30th, when Lord Russell's despatch to Lord Lyons at Washington was considered and officially settled. A special messenger brings this despatch by the "Europa," the ship having been detained at Queenstown for the purpose. The London *Observer* (Government organ) says the despatch will insist upon an apology, and the restoration to the British flag of the rebel commissioners.

The *Times* says it understands this communication, though couched in the firmest language, presumes that the Federal Government will not refuse to make honourable reparation for an illegal act, but the paper also remarks that it has small hope of such a dis-

avowal, and thinks Mr. Seward's recent circular to the border States to put their defences in proper shape, could only have reference to the war which he was already determined to force upon England. The *Times* warns Canada to prepare at once to discipline her militia, and emulate the Mother Country by drilling a volunteer army.

Among the American papers, the New York *Times* (Government organ) refers to the news from England as a startling and unwelcome surprise; that it is evident we are on the brink of war with England, and that only the highest statesmanship can save us from the direst of calamities.

One New York paper says: "If the British Government is not content, and demands restoration of Mason and Sliddell to the shadow of the British flag, there must be an absolute refusal, let the consequences be what they may." While the truculent *Herald* says: "In the event of England, in her folly, declaring war against the United States, the annexation of the British North American possessions, to which Mr. Seward looked forward in his speeches made before the present administration came into office, will unavoidably follow. Between Vermont and Minnesota we could pour a hundred and fifty thousand troops into Canada in a week, and overrun the province in three weeks more. In this invasion we should be aided by a large portion of the inhabitants, two-thirds of whom are in favour of annexation with the United States."

19th.—Spent the morning with Colonel Axford. On his behalf wrote letters to all the officers of the battalion directing them to be present at Montgomery's tavern, at 12 o'clock, on the 22nd, to consider the best means of making themselves efficient in drill, and to revise the muster rolls, so that in case of emergency, and the battalion is called out for active service, there will be no difficulty in having the full complement of

men. In the afternoon drove to the city with Colonel Vansittart. Papers contained telegraphic news, just to hand by the "Jura," which left Londonderry on the 6th, and arrived at Portland on the 18th. They are awaiting in England the action of the American Government. The Privy Council met on the 4th, when a significant order in council is passed, prohibiting the export of arms and ammunition. Also, the Admiralty has ordered all officers on leave to return to their ships. The method of transport of troops from Halifax to Canada is discussed. The best route thought to be by St. John to Woodstock by rail, thence by road, which is fairly good in summer, and takes the stage three days and three night to River du Loup, where the Grand Trunk is reached.

Colonel Vansittart had a long talk with Colonel Bradford, and informed me, in confidence, that the War Office had sent instructions to General Williams to push forward every possible preparation for the immediate defence of Canada; that Lord Lyons had instructions to wait only seven days for compliance with the demands contained in the English ultimatum, and in default, without further parley, to withdraw his legation from Washington. This last information is most startling, as it cannot be credited the American Government will comply with so peremptory and menacing a demand, in the face of the belligerent attitude of all the press and people, and which might imperil the very existence of the Government.

21st.—Again in the city with Colonel Vansittart and Colonel Axford. Scarcely any person but believes war will be declared within a few days. We all attended a conference with Colonel Bradford, at which were present Colonel Askin, Major Shanly, Major Starr, and some other local staff officers. Colonel Bradford read the following telegram, received that morning from Colonel De Salaberry:—

" Military Department, Quebec,
December 20th.

A militia general order is promulgated to-day, requiring one company of seventy-five privates in each battalion of sedentary militia to be immediately formed for active service, no man to be accepted who does not volunteer for immediate service, and on a day's notice." Colonel Axford is directed to select a company from his battalion at once, and I am instructed to send a special messenger to the captains of the Bayham, Aldeburgh and Southwold companies, directing them to post notices on all schools and hotel doors and post offices in the townships, calling for volunteers prepared to enlist for immediate service, to attend at Glammis, on the 25th instant, at 12 o'clock, to be mustered in.

Some discussion took place regarding the fortifying of London, and it is decided to communicate at once with the department, and have some heavy artillery forwarded from Quebec for that purpose. It is estimated that the order of seventy-five from each battalion will raise about thirty-two thousand men. The action of the authorities is highly approved of, and from the state of public feeling no difficulty at all is anticipated in providing the full quota from our district. The most serious feature of the situation is the fact that the defence of Canada, until the opening of navigation, some four or five months hence, will fall entirely upon the militia, but although untrained, they are filled with ardor, and a large proportion of them, especially the rural battalions, are fair shots. All the farmers' boys have guns, and know how to use them. For defensive purposes, if protected by breastworks or other suitable covering, they will prove no mean antagonists. So far as drill is concerned, it is not

thought the American soldiers will be in any better condition than our own; they will be drawn from the same rank and condition of life.

Some copies of the London *Times* reached me today, which arrived by the "Jura." The feeling has not abated at all in England. It quotes the remark of the New York *Tribune,* "What Great Britain will say we don't know, and we do not greatly care," and similar statements, and adds:—

"Either America must stop short in its aggressive and overbearing course on which she has entered, must retrace her steps and make such reparation as to leave even the New York press no excuse for saying that she has gained anything by doing violence to men who sought protection under the British flag, or she must prepare to assert, in another arena, her claim to trample under foot the plainest rules of international law, and the dearest rights of friendly powers."

22nd.—Drove to Montgomery's tavern this morning with Colonel Axford. Roads badly drifted, but a full attendance of the officers. Colonel Askin addressed the meeting. He said the situation was most serious, and before the end of the month, there was, in his mind, no doubt we would be at war. He pointed out that many of the officers had not even uniforms. It was necessary to obtain these at once. They were equally deficient in drill, and to overcome that, the adjutant should at once communicate with the militia department, and have a drill instructor appointed for that purpose. That a general order had already, on the 12th instant, been issued providing for this, whenever application was regularly made therefor. It was also decided, and I was instructed to write to the department to furnish ten Enfield rifles for the battalion to use in ball practice. Colonel Askin also said, that Colonel Bradford, of the Rifles, had offered to furnish

all assistance in his power to help forward the drill, and when the militia was somewhat advanced in its instruction, to attach a complement of regulars to the battalion, and have them drilled together for the purpose of perfecting their movements.

The meeting then adjourned, with the understanding that the officers should assemble at Glammis on the 25th, at the enrolment of the new companies. Colonel Askin returned with Colonel Axford and myself, and we dined, together with Colonel Vansittart, at my father's. Colonel Askin said the city volunteer companies of London were well filled up and speedily getting efficient, owing to the nightly drill which was being held. That Colonel Shanly was to receive two nine-pounders and one twenty-four-pounder Howitzer in a few days. That the city had already under arms the following troops: a cavalry company, under Captain Burgess, some thirty strong; the Rifles company, under Captain Macbeth, fifty strong; and the artillery, under Major Shanly, seventy strong; besides a Highland company of forty-five, and Buckley's volunteer foot artillery of some forty men, and that there was less difficulty in getting men than equipment.

24th.—Busy to-day in preparation for the muster to-morrow at Glammis, but sent a servant into the city for the latest news and the papers. He found the city flags at half-mast on account of the death of Prince Albert, of which word had just been received. There will be mourning all over the Empire at this sad news. Our troubles seem to come fast and thick. The "Arago" and the "Edinburgh," with the English mail of the 11th, have arrived. Their intelligence shows that war-like preparations are still being prosecuted with unexampled vigour. Many troops are now at sea en route for Halifax. The 5th Dragoons and a force of artillary are said to be under orders to embark

themselves for Canada, and even the Guards have been directed to hold themselves in readiness to sail at a moment's notice. The greatest activity is displayed at the Tower of London, where seventy-five thousand stand of arms are being packed in boxes, with all equipment, to be shipped to Quebec, and similar work is going on at Woolwich.

It is announced that there is available for immediate transport to Canada, thirty thousand regular troops. In the city my servant found much interest and excitement over the arrival of a train loaded with five twenty-four pounder and two thirty-two pounder cannons, besides heavy field pieces, some of these for the defence of the city, others to be carried on to Sarnia. The "'Australasia" and "Persia," carrying men and arms, have been signalled off Cape Race. They will proceed up the St. Lawrence as far as possible, and hope to reach River du Loup before being stopped by the ice.

25th.—To-day the new company of volunteers from the sedentary militia was mustered in at Glammis with great enthusiasm. The difficulty was in selecting out of the one hundred and fifty that offered, the seventy-five which the militia order alone had called out. Those left behind could only be satisfied by the promise of being taken on the roll at the first opportunity, and the announcement by the colonel, that in all probability the entire battalion would be mustered, in ten days, for active service. The appearance of the new recruits would not give much satisfaction to a regular army officer, but the rough material is there, out of which sturdy troops can be made fit for any work. Most of the men arrived in twos and threes, but the Bayham "lambs" came thirty strong, on horseback, and were the centre of attraction. Most were in rough homespun grey, but others were clothed in the old-fashioned clothes brought by their ancestors

from the Motherland, and all had their coats strapped in at the waist with belts of basswood bark, and had sprigs of green balsam in their hats.

Colonel Axford was supreme. Dressed in the old uniform he wore in 1837, consisting of a long-tailed blue coat, with brass buttons, and gilt-cord shoulder straps, a pair of white duck trousers tucked into his high cavalry boots; while a shako and a pair of spurs completed his attire. For trappings his big sorrel horse " Bob " had a large horse cloth of the American cavalry pattern, as also was the high-pummelled saddle and Mexican stirrups, both of which he had bought from an American horse dealer. His appearance was to me anything but dignified, but to his troops he was the personification of military dignity and glory. His popularity was not diminished by the production of two kegs of whisky, which, so long as they lasted, were free to all. After the rolls had been completed and the men sworn in, they were drawn up, and an effort made to dress them in line, and here the democratic relationship between officers and men was at once exemplified. It was, Bob, won't you move up to Tom; Jim, please step forward; or, Now, men, why don't you hold on and let the others come up. And when finally the order to march was given, and the line was halted, after an attempt to wheel with the left as a pivot, the whole formation was found as zigzag as a snake fence.

The arms which the men had brought were of all sorts and conditions. Some had old Queen Bess muskets, with flint locks, others shot guns, a few rifles, while others, not to be entirely defenceless, had strapped sythe blades on pitch-fork handles, and considered themselves as well equipped as the regular lancers. When this short drill had been completed, the men were drawn up by the Colonel, and complimented on their soldierly appearance and military ardor, and be-

fore being dismissed were ordered to muster at the parade ground in London, on the 31st, where the men enrolled from the other battalions would meet them, and the full force of the new battalion would be served with uniforms and rifles, and other necessary equipment for active service.

26th.—Have been in London all day with Colonel Vansittart. As an old engineer officer, his services were called for to select the best situations for constructing defences for the city. A small party of us, including Colonel Bradford, rode out south along the Wharncliffe highway to the hills just south of the Commissioners Road, and staked out some earthworks near the junction of these two roads. Guns at this point would protect the city from an enemy approaching from the east or west by an enfilading fire. We then rode west to the high hill above Coombs mill, the dominant point of all the natural defensive positions around the city. Heavy guns placed here will defend every approach to the city whatever the quarter the enemy may come from. It was getting late before our work was completed, and as this point was on our road home, the Colonel and myself returned direct without going to the city.

December 28th.—Preparations for work still being actively pushed on. When in the city to-day, I found two companies of the Royal Canadian Rifles under orders, one to proceed to Port Dalhousie, the other to Port Colborne, to defend the Welland Canal. There was a rumour in circulation, which could not be traced to any authoritative source, that the prisoners Mason and Sliddell would be liberated. If this most welcome and most unexpected event should happen, the military activity of the last two weeks will not have been in vain. Good has come out of evil. A spirit of national devotion has been awakened. The people have been a unit in declaring their readiness to defend the Empire's

flag. The latest English papers show that troops are leaving daily, and every available transport is being chartered by the British Government. Everything indicates that the muster of the new local forces at London on the 31st will be a great success. I was pleased to notice in the press a meeting held in Montreal, through the energy and patriotic spirit of Mr. McGee, where a regiment of one thousand Irishmen was tendered to the civil authorities and the Government, for the defence of that city.

December 30th.—Peace! peace! blessed peace! Upon reaching the city this morning, feeling that I might be ordered away to the frontier before night, as yesterday was understood to be the last day for compliance by the American Government with Lord Lyons' ultimatum. I was astounded to find everybody shaking hands and hurrahing, and the bulletins in front of the newspaper offices decorated with enormous posters headed Peace! Peace! and underneath the information that all grounds of war were completely removed, as the American Government had directed the prisoners to be released, and returned to the shadow of the British flag. At the barracks I found the same information declared authentic, and was instructed to send messengers to my subalterns, cancelling the muster next day. We had many hearty handshakes, and at Colonel Bradford's quarters, drank to the Queen and confusion to all her enemies.

This account of the Trent affair, already too long, may be concluded by saying, that the feeling in the United States over the fiasco which had attended Captain Wilkes' exploit was of the most bitter nature, and I firmly believe has ever since rankled in the American breast. The northern press was very outspoken in its comment on the affair. The feeling was expressed by one of the prominent papers as follows:—

" Out of this Trent affair has come one permanent good. The old natural instinctive and wise distrust and dislike of England is revived again in the American heart, and will outlive all the soft words and snivelling cant about international brotherhood and reciprocity."

The same feeling was expressed a few days before the surrender by a member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, when he said:—

" If we are forced now, in our hour of weakness, to give up Mason and Sliddell, I trust in God that every man in America will make a solemn resolve to let England feel the force of our resentment and our undying revenge when next she is involved in difficulty."

Chapter 10.

THE OPENING OF THE HOUSE.

The House was called to meet at Quebec on the 20th March. Along with Carling, Portman, Macbeth and others from my district, I left London on the afternoon of the 17th, as a special parliamentary train was advertised to leave Toronto Tuesday morning. We left that city at 7 a.m., about thirty members in all, but by the time we reached Quebec next morning, at 8.45, our numbers had been increased to about one-half the entire membership of the legislature. At Montreal, amongst others, Mr. McGee joined the company, and I renewed the acquaintanceship we had made in London the October previous. The journey from Montreal to Quebec was performed at night, and those who now make the trip in comfortable sleeping cars can little appreciate the comfortless time every one had to spend in an all-night's journey in those

days. Mr. Brydges, the general manager of the Grand Trunk Railway, was on board all the way, and saw to it that his precious cargo of legislators should undergo no perils which good management could avoid. The time occupied from Toronto to Quebec of twenty-five and a half hours was looked upon as remarkably fast travelling, especially in view of the fact that it was winter time, and we were compelled to make a number of stops to take on passengers, as well as by reason of the snow drifts which in places obstructed our way.

Upon our arrival at Levis, opposite Quebec, we found the river badly jammed with broken ice. A thaw the week before had started the ice down the river from Lake St. Francis, and a most violent storm the Saturday previous, from the north-east, accompanied by a high tide, had piled the ice upon many of the wharves. In fact all the wharves, from Champlain market to the St. Charles, were more or less submerged. We were delayed three hours in getting across on this account. The weather in Quebec the day we arrived was bright and invigorating, although locomotion was difficult, as the streets still were filled with immense drifts piled up by the recent storm. I managed, however, to get out to the Plains of Abraham that afternoon, after having secured a room at Russell's hotel for the session. As I stood upon the battlefield which determined the destiny of our country, I tried to picture to myself the scene in the early morning of the 13th day of September, 1759, as Montcalm's soldier's viewed the red battalions of their enemy pushing up over the crest of the mountain and lining up in battle array, while they awaited the arrival of their leader, hastening from Beauport as fast as his charger could carry him. I could see the British advance, then the irregular fire of the French Grenadiers, and finally that fatal blast from the English muskets, at

two hundred paces, which, coming almost as one report, swept away the French ranks as with the flame of a furnace. Then I recalled the last words of the dying hero, at this very spot where the monument stands: " Now, God be praised, I die in peace," while at about the same moment, the mortally wounded Montcalm, supported on each side by a faithful soldier, rides listlessly back along the Grand Alle, and as he passes through the St. Louis gate, and the women crowding about for news of the battle see the blood streaming down his breast from a fatal wound, cry out: " Oh, my God! my God! the Marquis is killed." He, forgetful of his own condition, encourages them with the answer, " It is nothing, my friends," and passing on, in a few hours renders up his spirit to the God who gave it.

Although one was victor, and the other vanquished, in one hundred years their names are equally treasured in the hearts of all patriotic Canadians. How inspiring is such a glorious death. While Canada lasts their names are immortal.

The opening ceremonies were fixed for 3.30 p.m., 20th March. All Quebec turned out to witness the progress of the Governor General, from his residence on St. Louis street to the Parliament buildings. The streets on the way were crowded with spectators, while the middle of the road was kept clear for the Vice-regal party by a detachment from the Seventeeth Regiment, the Rifles, and the volunteer militia of the city. It was said there were fully fifteen hundred of the latter under arms, which speaks well for the military spirit of the people. The guard of honour drawn up at the entrance to the Parliament buildings, consisted of another detachment of the Seventeenth, having the band and the regimental colours. From the gate to the door of the legislative council chamber, the route was lined by the Civil Service company of the

volunteers, which is one of the best in the city. As the Governor left his residence a salute was fired from Durham Terrace by the Royal Artillery, and a volunteer battery of artillery. Within the Council Chamber were the chief dignitaries of the country and numerous representatives of the fair sex of Quebec. On the floor of the House, and near the Governor's throne, stood Sir Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, in full uniform, supported by many officers of the garrison. In front of the clerk's table was seated the venerable Chief Justice Bowen, and assistant Justices Stuart and Taschereau, of the Superior Court of Quebec, together with the Mayor and Recorder of the city. The Governor, Lord Monck, had been appointed only a few months previous, and this was the first occasion of his appearance as Her Majesty's representative, in calling together her loyal commons and councillors. The Governor was tall and well formed, of rather commanding appearance, his face beaming with good humour. He wore a thick heavy beard of reddish tint. The most conspicuous figure in the proceedings was the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. He was gotten up in the most superb and elaborate style, spreading lace ruffles, exquisitively cut coat, knee breeches, silk stockings, pumps, sword, &c., of a full court costume, wanting only the powdered wig to make him perfection itself. When the Governor took his seat in the Speaker's chair, the clerk of the legislative council instructed Black Rod to command the presence of the members of the legislative assembly. They returned, headed by the clerk of the assembly, and were informed that the Governor would make no address to them until they had elected a Speaker, and that next day, at three o'clock, he would state his reasons for calling them together. We now returned to our Chamber, and proceeded to elect a Speaker. Mr. Cartier, the Premier, proposed Mr. J. E. Turcotte,

while the Opposition, through Mr. Drummond, proposed Mr. L. V. Sicotte. The vote on this matter was important, as being the first trial of strength between the parties. We elected Mr. Turcotte by a majority of thirteen. On the 21st, at three o'clock, the legislative council chamber was crowded in greater numbers than yesterday, and if anything, with more richly dressed ladies, amongst them being the Governor's daughter. The Assembly being again summoned by Black Rod, the new Speaker addressed the Throne, announcing his election, and claiming humbly, according to ancient custom, the rights and privileges of the Commons, especially that of freedom of speech in debate, and access to the person of His Excellency at all times, to which the Speaker of the legislative council replied on behalf of the Governor, that they should have freedom of speech and access on all reasonable occasions.

His Excellency then addressed the assembled legislators, first in English, then in French. He referred to the death of the Prince Consort in feeling terms, and complimented them upon the loyalty shown by Her Majesty's subjects during the previous fall and winter; mentioned the further advance in self government which had been conceded by the English Government in abolishing the operation in her colonies of the writ of habeas corpus issued out of the English courts; that the Imperial Government had no objection to the establishment of commercial reciprocity between the various colonies, if the legislatures agreed thereto; and finally, that he had considered the condition of the militia force, and the report of a special commission thereon would be laid before the House.

The business of Parliament, until the Easter recess, was taken up in discussing the Speech from the Throne. The Opposition proposed three amendments, all of which were voted down. The main amendment was that of Mr. McDougall, which expressed surprise

at His Excellency, in view of the fact that Upper Canada had three hundred thousand of a population more than Lower Canada, had made no mention of the manifest injustice it was to Upper Canada to only have equality of representation with the Lower Province.

I have already mentioned the fact that this was now the burning question of the day, and it was with much interest I watched the debate. When not in attention upon my duties in the House, I rambled about the quaint old city, visiting its ruins, its old buildings, and points of historic interest. I was speedily weaving ties of friendship with Mr. McGee, whose room adjoined mine in the hotel. His companionship was very delightful. His fund of anecdote and humour seemed inexhaustible. Within a week after our arrival in Quebec, we had peeked into all kinds of interesting quarters, amongst others those narrow streets, Little Champlain and Sous le Cap, that encircle the base of the mountain, and are only ten feet wide, containing the little stores occupied by the fur traders more than two hundred years ago, which are now occupied, the former by the poorer French, and the latter by the still poorer Irish. Although he was the most distinguished man in America of his race, Mr. McGee never seemed so happy as when fraternizing with some of these poor emigrants, into whose eyes tears would immediately rise, when he spoke to them about the "ould sod." We got beautifully wet in our travels. The warm sun had rapidly changed the snow into slush, and as there were immense quantities of it everywhere, the effect upon the streets may be imagined. The water rushed along the sloping highways in torrents, and to walk in less than six inches of it was impossible. Truly, Quebec in spring weather is delightful. We were not confined, however, to the streets. In a few days we spent much of our time promenading Durham Terrace, overlook-

ing the mighty St. Lawrence. Under the genial influence of the spring weather, this resort is becoming more and more popular, especially with strangers, of whom I am told there are very many now in the city.

Chapter II.

THE FIRST DEBATE.

The debate upon the Address, lasting as it did until the 7th day of April, was found extremely tedious, and I thought I might well be excused from a too close attendance upon my parliamentary duties. It seemed that the Upper Canada Grits felt bound in duty to their constituents, to place themselves on record on the minutes of the House, as having spoken in favour of this amendment. Much of what was said may well be left to slumber in the musty newspapers of the day, for we are now speaking of a period before the debates were reported in *Hansard*. This question, however, being one which continued to be a burning topic for some years to come, and one which proved the undoing of more than one government, some account of what was said may be worth repeating, and something also may be added with reference to the speakers themselves.

Sir George Etienne Cartier, the leader of the Government, and Attorney General for Lower Canada, was now in the prime of life. He had been one of the enthusiastic followers of Papineau, in the ill-started rebellion of 1837, and took part in the fight at St. Denis. He escaped to the United States, but subsequently returning, built up a lucrative practice in Montreal. His ambition, however, finding no sufficient scope in the routine of his profession, he offered him-

self for the suffrages of the electors of Vercheres, and was returned in 1848, and had now been Attorney General for six years. As to his personal appearance, he was below the average height, with a wiry and compact figure. The massive formation of his lower jaw indicated that he was a man of resolution and tenacity of purpose, while his physical strength was said to be unrivalled. His manner is vivacious. His voice not melodious, lacking flexibility, and being pitched at too high a key. In opposing the amendment to the Address, I thought, perhaps, the strongest sentence of his speech was in reference to what had been said by a previous speaker from Upper Canada, that "British blood would certainly obtain what it considered just." To this Mr. Cartier said: "I will ask how British blood voted in 1849. The House at that time divided on the amendment of Mr. Chauvreau, supported by Mr. Papineau, which affirmed that Lower Canada ought to have a greater representation than Upper Canada. The British voted then against representation by population with unanimity. Does the British blood think that thing just in 1862 which was not just in 1849, and it is to be remembered, at that time the disproportion in population was one-fourth or one-fifth in favour of Lower Canada, whereas it is now only one-eighth or one-ninth the other way."

The Lower Canada side of the case was also put very strongly by Mr. Loranger, who said:

"At the time of the Union, Upper Canada was in the minority with reference to population, and when the Act of Union was being discussed in the English House of Commons, Mr. Hume spoke of the injustice of giving Upper Canada the same representation as Lower Canada, but it was done, thus showing that the English House of Commons rejected the principle of representation by population. I say further, that so intense is the feeling in Lower Canada, that any mem-

ber who is fool or knave enough to accept a seat in the Cabinet, a part of whose policy it is to disturb the equality of representation, will be broken like a fragile piece of glass and swept away from the House."

The position of the members from what is called the eastern townships of Lower Canada was somewhat unique. The people of these townships were mainly of British descent, and their attitude was thus expressed by Mr. Huntingdon:—

"This question, as yet, has become of interest only to those in the eastern townships who fear Upper Canada encroachments, amongst whom, as a general rule, are not the English-speaking population, but I believe I speak the sentiments of this class when I say they will, on the one hand, consent to no measure which will have a tendency to aid in the subversion of the institutions of their French-Canadian compatriots, nor will they, on the other hand, allow themselves to be made instruments in keeping up heart-burnings and estrangements amongst their brethren in Upper Canada. It cannot be denied that, as a general rule, the elections in Upper Canada were carried on by an appeal to the prejudices against Lower Canadian domination, and it is equally useless to deny that in Lower Canada the cry of George Brown was continually resorted to for the purpose of influencing elections. I urge upon the Premier the necessity of taking action to remove these evils. (Mr. Cartier here remarked: 'But I have suggested a remedy.' To which Mr. Huntington replied:) The hon. Premier did suggest a remedy in 1859, but from that day to this he had not had the courage to submit it to the House."

Upper Canada's position, from the Grit standpoint, was strongly and fairly put by the new member for Peterborough, Colonel Haultain, who said:

"It is conceived by the inhabitants of Upper Canada, of all shades of opinion, that a subject of Her

Majesty living on one side of a geographical or arbitrary line, to be enjoying greater political privileges than one who has cast his lot on the other side of that line, is an injustice so palpable that they are determined not to tolerate it. They will persistently assert and maintain their just rights, and will use all the means in their power to obtain them."

Between these extreme and irreconcilable claims, a middle course was strongly urged by Mr. McGee, and it exemplified that characteristic which I had occasion to admire all my life in this great man, his broad-minded spirit of toleration and moderation in all matters. His proposal was to give representation by population in the Lower Chamber, retaining equality of representation in the Upper Chamber, accompanied by such constitutional safeguards as would completely protect the Lower Canadians in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges; a solution of the difficulty which was subsequently adopted in the confederation of the provinces. He said:

"All that I have heard or read of statecraft goes to show that when a question has become one of political reality, it can no longer be met by a flat negative, but only with an alternative proposition. By an alternative proposition, the moderate part of each party is certain to be satisfied. Such an alternative cannot satisfy extremists, but will take from each party all those men whose names gives strength to their side."

"The great question, then, is, Can such an alternative proposition be found. The Premier says no, and threatens us with a war of races. But other members from his province do not despair. They, at least, are willing to hear other opinions and offer their own. I put the question, suppose Lower Canada has guarantees for the fullest religious and civil freedom in a fundamental law framed by herself, and ratified by Her Majesty, and suppose you had a guarantee in

the composition of the Upper Chamber, and suppose you had a power of final interpretation in cases of doubt arising under the constitution, in a bench of judges composed of an equal number from Upper and Lower Canada, would not all this content you? Far better would it be for the Attorney General's position if he would avail himself of his majority, and propose some such alternative proposition to the people of Upper Canada, than to force them into a compact phalanx," and concluded by a stirring appeal to the fair-minded and moderate men on both sides of the House to try to solve the problem by some such alternative remedy as he had suggested.

The debate closed on the 2nd of April, when the Address was approved by 76 to 44. All the members from Lower Canada voted on this question with the Government except one, showing that the divergence of views was entirely one of race and sectional interest.

Before the House adjourned for the Easter holidays, the western supporters of the Government were gratified by the appointment of Mr. Carling to the portfolio of Receiver General, and were equally gratified by his subsequent re-election by acclamation.

Chapter 12.

SOME PROMINENT MEN.

The leader of the Lower Canada opposition was now the Hon. Louis Victor Sicotte, who had been Speaker of the House in 1854, and a member of the Government in 1857 and 1858. In the latter year he retired from the Cartier-Macdonald administration over the question of Ottawa as the seat of the new

capital. He had supplanted Mr. Dorion as leader, and during this session created a new party more moderate than the Rouges, in fact, the latter party had practically ceased to exist, owing to the discredit attached to them in Lower Canada by their alliance with George Brown and the clear Grits of Upper Canada. The present leader was scarcely on speaking terms with Mr. Brown, who came to Montreal at the close of the last election and denounced him, with a view of preventing his obtaining the leadership, but signally failed. His campaign against the Government this session was dexterously carried on, as will appear later, when the militia Bill comes under discussion. He was as pronounced an opponent of representation by population as Mr. Cartier himself, and moved an amendment to the Address, "that the principle of equal representation was the basis of the compact upon which the union between Upper and Lower Canada was formed, and is essential to the maintenance of the Union." Mr. Cartier appreciated the skilfulness of this move on the political checkerboard, saw that it was well framed to catch the Lower Canada votes, and boldly facing the situation, said he would look upon this amendment as a motion of non-confidence, inasmuch as it was totally unnecessary, and the spirit of it had always been recognized by the Government. By this means he was able to hold his followers in hand, and the amendment only had the support of the recognized Lower Canada opposition. Mr. Sicotte was on friendly terms with the supporters of Mr. Cartier, and it proved greatly to his advantage later that he was not the object of anyone's personal animosity, which often is more powerful than political principles.

Although not the leader of the Upper Canada opposition, and although one of the strongest opponents in the House of the principle of representation by

population, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was one of the ablest men in opposition to the Government. He said of himself, during this session, that he was without any party affiliations. His moderation, however, made him the natural ally of Mr. Sicotte. The Scotch strain in his nature predominated, and he had the Highland characteristic of hating his enemies and cherishing his friends to a marked degree. His chief characteristic was his independence and self reliance. His compatriots in Glengarry never wavered in their allegiance; his opinions were always theirs. So strong was he in their confidence and affection that he never deemed it necessary to issue an address to his electors. Since 1859 he had been at variance with George Brown and the older Grit party, and being happy in the enjoyment of a lucrative legal practice in Cornwall, the emoluments of office had no attractions for him, but freedom of action and freedom of thought were essential to his happiness. In this debate he said:

"It is manifest that Lower Canadians are determined to resist the demand for representation by population. Is it then worth while for the people of Upper Canada to destroy the good feeling which should exist between the two sections for the sake of a theory. Not a practical advantage has been shown as likely to result from the concession of the principle. I feel assured that an oppressed people will rather appeal to arms; they would join the Americans to-morrow in preference to yielding. I solemnly implore the Upper Canadian members to stay their hands ere they drive the weaker party to seek another state of political existence. If you sow the wind, you can depend upon having to reap the whirlwind."

The Attorney General West, Mr. John A. Macdonald, I thought adroitly took no part in the debate. Many of his Upper Canada supporters were pledged to

vote for representation by population, and it was understood that such a vote would not be taken as indicating a lack of confidence in the administration.

The only other speech that, perhaps, should be mentioned in this debate, not so much for its importance as for the fact that the speaker had long been looked upon as the leader of the Lower Canada opposition. Just what quality went to the make up of a *rouge* was hard to say. Perhaps the popular definition was not far from the truth, namely, an opponent of Mr. Cartier. The word was not heard in Lower Canada except in the neighbourhood of Montreal, where the Cartier men sported the *bleu* and the followers of Mr. Dorion the *rouge.*

Antoine Aime Dorion was one of the most polished speakers in the House. He had a perfect command of both languages, and used whichever one best suited his purpose in hand. His alliance with George Brown in 1859 proved the shipwreck of his political fortunes. His compatriots never, as a body, gave him their confidence thereafter, notwithstanding that his opposition to representation by population was as uncompromising as that of Cartier himself. There was always a fear that in a case of political emergency he might be induced to sacrifice what they conceived to be Lower Canada's rights, for the purpose of obtaining political power. In this debate he said:

"Representation by population, as presented by Mr. McDougall's motion, never can be granted, as the Union is federal in its character. If the two sections of Canada cannot exist in equality, let them repeal the Union, purely and simply, before a single vote more is given to Upper Canada than to Lower Canada."

It was Mr. Dorion's misfortune that his views on the most important questions affecting his country's welfare were such as the future proved to be mistaken and erroneous. He had opposed one administration

because they held it improper to open up the question of the capital of the United Canadas after Her Majesty had selected Ottawa, upon a petition that she should make a choice, concurred in by all parties in the House. His opposition to the Intercolonial Railway, and the federation of all the provinces under one federal government, has also proven to have been wanting in political foresight. As a jurist, however, when appointed chief justice of the highest tribunal in his province, he displayed ability of the highest order, and left behind him a reputation of unsullied honour and profound judicial capacity.

The debate having been concluded on the 7th of April, the House proceeded in a body to the executive council chamber, and presented His Excellency with its reply to the Address, and thereupon an adjournment was made for the Easter holidays.

During the last few days the evenings had been delightful, and I had many walks on the Durham Terrace with Mr. McGee, whose kindness and evident friendship for me had become a great source of pleasure. We were both equally interested in the enthusiasm shown by the people of Quebec in military matters. The other night, when the debate was dragging wearily along, Mr. Wilson, who was speaking, had to sit down for some little time, owing to the commotion outside, where a battalion of chasseurs, some 500 strong, of which Mr. Cauchon is colonel, gave him an ovation as he passed down the ranks on his way to the House. Every evening, as the men return home from the drill hall, they fill the air with melody; their favorite songs are "Canotiers de la Seine," and "La claire fontaine."

Chapter 13.

SEPARATE SCHOOL BILL.

On the 22nd April, I again took the special train for Quebec from Toronto, along with some forty other members. On arriving at Levis we found the ferry delayed some hours, owing to the ice completely blocking the river as it swept down in immense masses. Some of our party, more venturesome than the others, or more susceptible to the siren voices of the boatmen, attempted the passage in small skiffs, but besides the danger to which they were constantly exposed of having their boats crushed between the blocks of ice, they were carried some three miles down the river, and did not reach the hotel until late in the afternoon, when the turning tide helped them back.

The next interesting debate of the session arose over the introduction by the member for Ottawa, Mr. R. W. Scott, of a Bill to amend the Separate School Act in Upper Canada. The object of the Bill was to reduce the number of Roman Catholics required for the establishment of a separate school, and making it possible to extend the system into sparsely settled districts. As was to be expected, the Bill was bitterly opposed by the extremists section of Upper Canada's opposition, which declared its intention to fight the Bill at every turn, for they looked upon it as destructive of the public school system of their province. The Bill was finally carried, and a motion to give it the six months' hoist voted down by a very large majority, the vote standing 93 to 13. This result was largely obtained through the stand taken by Mr. McGee. He was now recognized as one of the most powerful debaters and ablest men in the House, and his support was recognized as essential to any successful attack by the Opposition upon the Government.

His views on the Bill were expressed in the most explicit terms, and the result to be looked for if the ultra-Grits should show their illiberality by voting against it. So vigorous was his support of the Bill, and so menacing his language to those of his party who should oppose it, that he fairly whipped into line more than one-half of the Opposition members from Upper Canada. His are the only remarks I shall venture to offer to the reader in connection with this debate. He said:

"The Catholics—the petitioners—assert in the most solemn manner that they cannot in conscience divorce religious from secular instruction in schools which they support. Are you to be judges for them as to what their consciences ought to determine in the matter? Are they to be guided by your consciences or by their own? No one can show me any enduring national character that ever was moulded without a strong infusion of a dogmatic religion of some sort. Some have spoken of this demand for separate schools in Upper Canada as a priests' question. Nothing could be further from the fact. I assert, of my own knowledge, in the name of tens of thousands of parents whose petitions are on your table, that this is a fathers' and mothers' Bill much more than a priests' Bill. I think there is danger that in these our realms, so bare of all tradition, gross materialism may spread into excessive dimensions—that the sceptre of the fireside may be broken, and the moral magistracy of the parent overthrown. All the indices of our society seem to me to veer away from the altar and the throne and point towards money and earthly advantages. The exclusion of this question from the arena will restore the rule of legitimate politics. It will no longer be possible for unfit and insincere men to find their way into this House, with the certificate of a Catholic bishop, or the card of an Orange lodge. For myself,

there is no place I would not rather see a priest than as a suppliant or an agent of any politician. There is no place I would not rather hear the voice, dedicated to the service of the altar, raised, than in the uproar that surrounds the hustings. Great learning and high character will create a wide influence for clergymen, and great interests may justify their active interference in political contests, but it is because, in addition to its justice, I consider it and accept it as an act of final settlement, leading to the extinction of sectarian war, that I mainly desire the passage of this Bill. I can only say for myself, that as far as I am concerned, if the Bill passes unmutilated, I will be no party to re-opening the subject, either in the House or in the country."

He then turned to his friends and said:

"From the moment I first entered upon my parliamentary duties I have acted with the Opposition, and have given them a frank, bold, hearty and unstinted co-operation, but I must say, if this debate shall satisfy me, that the religious liberties of the Roman Catholic minority of the people of Upper Canada are more safe in the hands of what has been called the Conservative party, than they are in the hands of the Reform party in this House, however painful it may be to me personally, I shall not, for any party or other earthly consideration, hesitate to make my choice in favour of the party which guarantees the religious rights of the Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada, and no objection whatever will deter me from preferring the Conservative party if they are tolerant on this question, for any party which is not tolerant, no matter what are the points on which we agree or disagree with reference to other subjects which come before the House or the country. I have always maintained there was greater liberality existing in the ranks of my western friends on subjects of this de-

scription than was to be found on the ministerial side of the House. But there has not hitherto been such a practical test, since I became a member, as now, and I shall make my mind up as to which side has the greater liberality, by the toleration they exhibit on this question."

Chapter 14.

DEFEAT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Immediately after the Separate School Bill had been disposed of, the Attorney General West introduced the Government Militia Bill, which had been foreshadowed in the Speech from the Throne. Although Mr. Macdonald's speech was a lengthy one, I was not the only one of his followers who was disappointed with the manner in which he commended the Bill to the House. It was the first occasion this session that he took a prominent part in the debate. Although not an orator, he is usually an effective speaker. He is logical and generally expresses himself clearly. When his heart is in his speech and the occasion warrants it, he can be impassioned and convincing. Whether he foresaw the opposition the Bill would meet with, owing to the enormous expense which would be entailed by carrying it into operation, and this cast some dark spell over his eloquence, or whatever the reason might be, it was felt by all his supporters, when he sat down, that no valuable impression had been made on the House, but rather the reverse. The Bill contemplated the arming and equipping of fifty thousand men, which, with the construction of armories, would cost Canada over two millions of dollars during the first year, and would entail an annual expenditure of one million dollars.

When it is remembered that a large deficit was confidently anticipated, independently altogether of this expenditure, it is not difficult to see how favorable an opportunity was afforded by the Government armour to its enemies shafts. No discussion took place at the time, but when the budget speech of Mr. Galt was made some days after, it became evident that the Bill had caused a great ferment in the minds of the Lower Canada members. When Mr. Sicotte enquired whether the new militia, which should take the place of the old at the expiration of three years, would have to wear the cast-off clothes of the old, the remark was met by great laughter. And again, when he enquired of the Finance Minister whether he thought the soldiers' pants would last five years, the answer was drowned in uproarious applause. The House seemed to be inclined to treat the entire proposal as farcical, in view of the depleted state of the treasury, more especially as no satisfactory answer was obtained by Mr. Loranger to his enquiry, how it was proposed to raise the money for this immense expenditure. The debate on the budget was adjourned, and in the meantime, on an unimportant question of privilege in connection with the Montreal East election, the Government side was only sustained by a majority of one, the vote standing 53 to 52. This was but an indication of the dissatisfaction which was rampant amongst the followers of the ministry.

The House contained between fifteen and twenty new members from Lower Canada, who, on the vote for Speaker, had ranged themselves as supporters of the Government. But most of these had no special party affiliations at this time, and simply supported the existing Government because it was in power. As the session progressed, inroads were made upon this support by Mr. Sicotte, and the introduction of the Militia Bill brought matters to a focus.

I had made the acquaintanceship by this time of Mr. J. Dufresne, the member for Montcalm, who had been in the previous House, and who was well known as a warm supporter of Mr. Cartier. Through him I learned something of the trouble which was developing amongst the new members, and which had spread to some of the old as well. Back of the Government, in the south-east corner of the Chamber, was located a very considerable body of Lower Canada members, styled in the House, the *north-west*, for what reason I do not know. These members, by this time, had become closely associated, and voted almost as a unit on every matter arising in the House. It was here the leaven of discontent had permeated the deepest. Dufresne took a very gloomy view of the prospect, and so expressed himself freely to Mr. Cartier. The latter, however, was inclined to believe that, however much they might kick in advance, when the time came these members would not desert him. Besides, said he, " What are we to do? This Bill is the outcome of and simply puts into operation, the report of the militia commission which has been investigating the subject most thoroughly during the recess; the Government has introduced the Bill relying upon the martial spirit which was universally apparent in the country during and since the Trent affair, and I feel confident the country will approve of the action of the Government. At any rate, it is too late to withdraw at this stage, and if our supporters are determined to abandon us, we cannot fall in a better cause than this Bill affords."

Determined to put all to the test, and assured in his mind that delay would only increase the agitation against the Government measure, and consolidate the opposition of some of the more timid members, Mr. Cartier gave notice he would call up the Militia Bill for a second reading a few days later. The galleries were crowded on this occasion, as everybody knew the

fate of the Government depended upon the vote that afternoon. Mr. Cartier simply moved the second reading of the Bill, and sat down. No one rose to speak. After waiting a few minutes, the Speaker rose and asked if the members should be called in. Mr. Cartier then turned to Mr. Street, who sat near him, and asked him to speak, but he replied he preferred doing so later on. Still no one getting up, the Speaker ordered the Sergeant-at-Arms to call in the members. When this had been done, the clerk called for the yeas, and as the north-west section was reached, it was noticed ominously that not a member rose in answer to his name. Mr. Dufresne could be seen urging some of them to rise, but one of the recusants struck his desk with his fist, and said, "Non, non," in a voice that could be heard in the galleries. The clerk then turned to the Opposition, and when four of them stood up and voted aye, a look of dismay could be seen upon the faces of some of the bolters of the north-west. It was plainly evident that, although not unwilling the Government should be defeated, they were by no means inclined to have it sustained in defiance of their votes. Some rapid conversation, accompanied by excited gesticulations, could be seen in their midst, and when the clerk had completed his tally of the Opposition, Deslaunier, one of the north-west, now stood up to be enrolled amongst the ayes. He was then followed by Caron, Tasse, Langevin, Dawson, and one or two more, and finally the vote was concluded. One could see intense excitement in every countenance as the clerk rapidly added up his columns. Mr. Cartier and Mr. Macdonald were engaged in the same occupation. At last the clerk stood up. A pin dropping could be heard, so intense was the strain, and when he announced the defeat of the Government by a vote of 54 to 61, the announcement was received in perfect silence, instead of the uproarious cheers with which such a re-

sult is usually met. Mr. Cartier arose, and simply moved the adjournment of the House until next day, which was agreed to *nem con.* Once the sitting was over, a scene of confusion and excitement ensued, as the members crowded around the clerk to see the division list, and eagerly canvassed the result of the vote. In the lobbies, and subsequently in the hotels and on the streets during the evening, speculations were rife whether the Government would resign or would have a dissolution. It was thought the ministry could not go to the country on a stronger question, as the people were thoroughly loyal, but it was doubted whether the Governor would grant a dissolution so soon after an election.

Next day the galleries were again crowded, when Mr. Cartier announced that the ministry had sent in its resignation to the Governor, and then proceeded to express his recognition of the right of his supporters to refuse to follow him if they thought the interests of the country, and of their constituents, required them to do so; but that the iron still rankled in his breast was apparent by the hearty congratulations he expressed to his colleague, the Attorney General West, whose followers had supported him to a man, and whose fall, therefore, had many features about it upon which he could dwell with pleasure.

All was rumour and uncertainty for the next few days. The first impression was that Mr. Foley, the leader of the Upper Canada opposition, and Mr. Sicotte, would be called upon to form a government, but little surprise was felt when it was found later that the Grits had been thrown overboard, that the incoming government would be formed of moderate men, and that Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had undertaken the responsibility of forming a government.

As we were now the *outs,* it can occasion no surprise that I was much interested in the position Mr.

McGee would occupy in the new administration. He soon informed me that he had been invited to join the Government, and had consented. He hoped sincerely that he might get the Department of Agriculture, which included immigration, the subject of all others most near to him, and with which he had been identified ever since he had entered the House, having acted as chairman of that committee for many years. A few evenings afterwards, as we conversed upon the Terrace, Mr. McGee still further unburdened his mind to me with reference to this department, and incidently referred to some passages of his eventful career. He said:

"When I first came to America, I cannot express the loathing with which I viewed the situation of my unfortunate fellow-countrymen, whom misfortunes and evictions had driven from the land of their forefathers. Instead of going west and settling upon the lands that Uncle Sam offered to everyone who would undertake the trials and hardships of a frontier life, I found them herded together by the thousands in tenement houses in New York, Boston, and other large cities. The result was demoralization of the worst kind, mentally, morally and physically. I devoted much of my time and energy for many years in projects for the colonization of my people in the west, and my final effort only ended in Buffalo, in the great Irish convention held there shortly before I came to Canada, which did much for the amelioration of the condition of my unhappy race. I tell you that if I were quitting public life to-morrow, I would feel a far higher satisfaction in remembering that some honest man's sheltering roof-tree had been raised by my advocacy, than if I had been made Premier or Governor of this province. Let it be the mad desire of other nations to lay waste; let it be ours to populate waste places. In this we shall approach nearest to the divine original, whose

image, however defaced, we bear. In this we shall become makers and creators of new communities and a new order of things. The subject of emigration should enlist everyone's sympathy, for in a sense all men are emigrants. The history of man is the history of emigration. We should look upon the emigrant, wherever born and bred, as a founder as great or greater than kings or nobles, because he is destined to conquer for himself, and not by the hands of other men, his sovereign dominion over some of the earth's surface. He is the true founder who plants his genealogical tree in this soil of the earth, whose escutcheon bears what Cowley has so happily called the best shield of nations, "a plough proper in a field arable."

Chapter 15.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

The new Government consisted of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald as Premier and Attorney General West, with Mr. Howland, Mr. McDougall, Mr. Foley, Mr. Morris and Mr. Adam Wilson representing the Upper Province; and Mr. Sicotte as Attorney General East, with Mr. Abbott, Mr. Dorion, Mr. McGee, Mr. Evanturel and Mr. Tessier from the Lower Province. Mr. McGee's portfolio was that of President of the Council. He informed me that although the Immigration Department was under the nominal control of Mr. Evanturel, it was agreed that later on it should be attached to his department. This promise, however, was never fulfilled, owing to the Lower Canada opposition. In fact, no sooner had the completion of the new Government been announced in the House, than Mr. Cartier expressed the astonishment felt by Lower Cana-

dians, at the announcement that the immigration department was to be given to the President of the Council. He put it to the Lower Canada members, of whom four-fifths at this time spoke nothing but French, whether they considered themselves well treated in having a barrister placed at the head of that department, who could speak hardly a word of French. Soon afterwards all hopes of the transfer was abandoned by Mr. McGee, and in the September following, when I next saw him after the adjournment, he expressed his irritation at the way matters had been carried on, especially as immigration was being entirely ignored, to such an extent indeed, that the emigration agents in England and Ireland had been withdrawn, and no new ones appointed.

The work of the session was very rapidly wound up. The nominations and elections of the new members of the Government were speedily proceeded with, but were not completed until the middle of June.

My regard for Mr. McGee at this time was too strong to permit of my abandoning our friendship, because my political leaders were of a different way of thinking. He sent me a copy of the Montreal *Gazette,* containing his address to the electors on the 9th instant, when he was returned by acclamation, having been nominated for the third time by Mr. L. H. Holton. The feature of his address which most impressed me, was the frankness with which he admitted the uncertainty that surrounded the problem of carrying out in practice the important plank in the Government's platform, which provided that no legislation should be forced upon either section of Canada against the will of a majority of the representatives from that section, and by the votes of the other. As to this, he said:

"Time alone can tell whether it will be sufficient to remove the incongruities existing in the Union Act,

but, at all events, the experiment is entitled to a fair trial. I know that some of my friends believe the experiment will not prove satisfactory, but time will tell. In the mean time, when the house is on fire, it is not the proper time to discuss the architectural design of a new edifice. Our first duty is to endeavour to extinguish the fire consuming the credit and finances of the country, and leave the plan of the new edifice to the future."

The new administration was bitterly assailed by the *Globe*, as might have been expected. The virulence of its attack being especially directed against the four Upper Canada members of the ministry, who had abandoned representation by population by accepting office. On May 27th, the very day after the announcement was made of the personel of the new Cabinet, the *Globe* said:

"It has by the Government been discovered by an accident that the Union of the two provinces was, from the first, federal in its character, and not, as we have all imagined for twenty years past, a legislative union. The affectation of Foley and McDougall, of serious alarm at the danger of touching the question at this emergency is enough to sicken a horse. We are told that representation by population was an impossibility, and that nothing better could have been done. That the French Canadians were so stern and unrelenting, and that unless all this humiliation had been submitted to the old set of corruptionists, would have been recalled to power. We are assured by those whose uprightness and patriotism are undoubted, that this is their conviction. Well, and what if this was the option? Does it not show in the most startling light the wretched vassalage to which the servile politicians of Upper Canada have reduced us. How comes it that Lower Canadians have the power to pour melted lead down our throats? Is it not because we open our

mouths to receive the horrid draught? One day the Reformers and the next day the Tories—each striving to get it down before the other has the chance. How long is this despicable humiliation to go on?"

In addition to these assaults from their own friends, the Upper Canada members of the ministry were twitted by the late Government upon their change of opinion. Mr. Macbeth pointed out that Mr. McDougall had gone through his constituency telling his people it was such fellows as he (Mr. Macbeth) that prevented representation by population being carried.

Chapter 16.

THE INTERCOLONIAL.

Early in August the English mails began to come to hand, containing the opinions of the English people with regard to the action of the Canadian legislature in throwing out the Militia Bill, which had been diligently fostered by the English Government. The criticisms were delivered in no mild language. Indeed, language used by politicians of high standing, and even by members of the Government, viewed in the light of the present recognized value of Canada to the Empire, appear enormously short-sighted and unpatriotic. Mr. Roebuck said:

"What I want the Canadians to understand, and what I want our Government to make them understand, is, that we don't care a farthing about the adherence of Canada to England. I want them to understand that England has no benefit from her connection. I want Canadians to understand clearly that England would not be sorry to see them depart from her to-morrow."

The Secretary of State for War said, in the course of his remarks, that he would see Canada independent without regret, and even Lord Palmerston showed his irritation by saying:

"I am glad this discussion has taken place, as it has enabled the Secretary of State for War to make a statement, which must satisfy Canadians that unless they choose to make exertions which are becoming in them to make for their own defence, which it is their duty to make, and which any people worthy of the name of men would make, unless they mean to fall into a state of apathy and betray a want of spirit, which would be disgraceful to the race to which they belong, that we have done as much for them as we intend to do, and it rests with them to do the remainder."

About the beginning of September, the Governor General left Quebec for a tour through Canada, and visited London on the 19th, where he was received by a guard of the Sixty-third Rifles, consisting of one hundred men; Captain Moffatt, with the Highland Rifle Company; and the band of the Sixty-third. Drawn up in front of the Tecumseh House was Captain Macbeth's company of the Volunteer Rifles. His Excellency and party were driven around the city by Senator Goodhue, and he was given a public dinner, at which seventy of the most prominent people of London and vicinity were present. Amongst others, were the Premier, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, the Earl of Mulgrave, Governor of Nova Scotia, Mr. Carling, Mr. Becher, and Major General Paulet. The Governor then proceeded with his party to Niagara, where he proposed to stay for some weeks.

One of the friendships I had made in Quebec during the previous session, was a member of the Governor's suite. He urged me very strongly to take a run down to Niagara while the party was staying

there, and join in the festivities which were about to take place. I decided to do so, and had only been in Niagara a few days when a letter from Mr. McGee was forwarded to me, in which he said that he had been conferring for some days, in Quebec, with a deputation from the Maritime Provinces, consisting of Mr. Howe, Mr. Tilley, and Mr. Mitchell, over the question of constructing an intercolonial road from St. John to River du Loup, and that being desirous of bringing their mission more prominently before the people of Canada, they proposed taking advantage of a monster demonstration, about to be held at Port Robinson, in the County of Welland, near Niagara, which would be, therefore, non-political in its character, although originally organized to do honour to Mr. Currie, the recently elected member of the Legislative Council. An opportunity of meeting these distinguished leaders, as well as Mr. McGee himself, determined me to attend the pic-nic. On the day appointed, I drove over to St. Catharines, where I met Mr. McGee and the maritime delegates, and accompanied them on the special train to Port Robinson. The pic-nic would not otherwise be worthy of notice were it not that the construction of the intercolonial road, in which the Maritime Provinces were much concerned, was the first practical question of joint interest to Canada and the lower provinces out of which ultimately developed, in a few years, the confederation of all the provinces. It was now the latter end of September, and Coleman's Grove, in which the pic-nic was held, was all aflame with the autumn tints on the soft maples and sumac. It was evident that the celebration would be a success, for the road leading to Port Robinson, from all quarters, were crowded with conveyances, while brass bands from Smithville, Thorold, Port Robinson and St. Catharines, headed processions from their respective neighbourhoods.

The platform in the middle of the grove was decorated with banners and evergreens, while the village itself had expended its energies in the erection of a handsome arch. In the course of his lengthy remarks, Mr. Howe said:

"I look forward hopefully to the time when this great province of Canada will be connected with the provinces below, and when a man will feel that to be a British American is to be a citizen of a country which includes all these fertile lands, and controls all these inexhaustible fisheries and immense marine."

The Hon. Peter Mitchell, who spoke in the absence of Sir Leonard Tilley, for the Province of New Brunswick, said:

"If Canada wishes union with the Lower Provinces, she must unite on a railway scheme, so that the commodities of one will reach the other."

Mr. McGee said:

"I have never been a sectional man. I have no sectional partialities in the country. I am neither an Upper Canadian nor a Lower Canadian. In the Government, and out of the Government, I have never known what the province line was, and not being a sectional man as regards Canada, I am not a sectional man as regards British North America, and if in the progress of events we can draw together, as I believe we can, more especially in the view of the perilous circumstances which confront us in the southern border, I, for my part, am ready to bid God-speed to the Union, and to take my share of the responsibilities of bringing it about."

Upon our return Mr. McGee informed me that the Lower Canada members very generally opposed the Intercolonial Railroad scheme, and the project had aroused the French Canadian national feeling, the road being looked upon by many in the light of a dangerous proposal to swamp their nationality, and which

must be stoutly resisted by Lower Canadians. According to them, the building of the intercolonial road means political union of all the British North American provinces, and this union implies the destruction of French ascendency. He also informed me that Mr. Dorion had espoused these feelings, and was leaving the Government on that account. A few days later his retirement was publicly announced, but his portfolio was not given to anyone for some time, in the hope that he would be induced to return if the negotiations fell through. In December a Canadian and Maritime delegation proceeded to England to lay this proposition before the Imperial Government, and to try and obtain a guarantee of three million pounds for the construction of the road. This was unsuccessful, the Duke of Norfolk stating that the English Government required the provinces to provide some sinking fund to pay off the indebtedness within a reasonable time. This would have necessitated a very large increase in the annual expenditure of the provinces, which they were not now in a position to assume. The proposal, therefore, for the time being, was abandoned, and Messrs. Sicotte and Howland, representing Canada, returned home.

Chapter 17.

GEORGE BROWN—1863.

I have nothing of interest to note during the winter of 1862 and 1863, until the time came for the opening of the House, which was fixed for the 13th of February. At this time there was great room for improvement in the railway service of Canada. One would have expected a special effort to be made to con-

vey the members safely to Quebec, but in going down, our coach ran off the track twenty miles from Toronto, tumbling us around very roughly. Not content with this, we ran into a freight train near Richmond, in Quebec, seriously injuring the conductor and a passenger, and Dr. Turcotte, who fortunately happened to be with us, was called upon to give his professional assistance. On arrival at Levis, we found a solid ice bridge extending across the river, over which we were driven to the Quebec side. On the 13th the House was opened with the usual ceremonies. The principle items in the bill of fare promised by the Speech from the Throne was, an amendment to the Militia Bill, and a Bill for the adjustment of parliamentary representation, which, however, means redistributing the present number of seats in each province without interfering with equality of representation. On the Sunday afternoon following, great excitement prevailed in the city, owing to the ice suddenly giving away, when the ice bridge, owing to the incoming tide, began to move bodily up river, carrying some hundreds of people who happened to be on it, either on foot or in sleighs. Crowds collected on the Durham Terrace, and in its neighbourhood, to watch the thrilling scene. Fortunately, the ice bridge did not break up, and before night all the people were safely removed in small boats, and the horses reached the shore in the evening, after the bridge had become stationary.

Early in the session a representation by population amendment to the Address was promptly voted down by a large majority. The debate, which developed little interest, dragged itself along until the 27th. On the 5th March, Mr. Scott's Upper Canada Separate School Bill, which never finally passed in the previous session, owing to the defeat of the Government, received its second reading, and on the third

reading, the Bill carried by seventy-six to thirty-one—but the thirty-one contained a majority of the Upper Canada members of the House, and according to the Government's policy, previously announced, the Bill ought not to become law. When the result of the vote was announced, the Premier abruptly left the House. Next day rumours of a ministerial crisis were widely circulated. It was plain that the Premier was greatly annoyed at the action of the Upper Canada Grits, and it was said that he had expressed the utmost indifference as to the ultimate result, and told them they must support him in all Government matters or go into Opposition. Mr. Ferguson, one of the bolters, said in the House, long afterwards, that the Premier on this occasion had said, "You may shipwreck the Government if you will. I can swim—you may go to the devil for me." Next day a caucus of the Grits was held, and a promise sent to the Premier of a generous support for his Government. During the debate, our leader, Mr. Macdonald, very generously espoused the side of the Premier, and scored the Upper Canada obstructionists for deserting their leader in this matter, and thereby making parliamentary government an impossibility, to which the Premier said, "Hear, hear."

An adjournment was made over the Easter vacation to the 9th of April. Upon the reassembling of the House, although everything upon the surface appeared quiet, every one knew there were under-currents which, sooner or later, must make trouble for the Government. The great difficulty is with the Reformers who bear allegiance to the great *Onontio,* George Brown, and yet desire to give support to the administration. On the one hand, their feelings are strongly enlisted against the return to power of the Conservatives. On the other hand, they have to consider the views of George Brown, whom they regard as the high

priest of their party, and in whom they see concentrated all wisdom, patriotism and perfection. Many of them owe their political positions to his influence, and if gratitude did not bind them fear probably would. Mr. Brown had been defeated in Toronto in 1861, but had lately been returned to Parliament for South Oxford, in the place of Dr. Connor, elevated to the Bench, and was expected in Quebec in a few days. I was told that his followers dreaded a collision between him and the Government, and fear his ambition will not permit him to occupy any subordinate position. On the other hand, in our ranks his arrival is viewed with pleasurable anticipation. Bets are made as to whether he will rank himself amongst the opposition or with the ministerialists.

Mr. McGee has not withdrawn his confidence from me, and our personal relations are as close as they were before his accession to power. He knows that anything told me is treated as confidential. From him I hear the Government view Brown's arrival with some disquiet. They are prepared to do their duty regardless of consequences, and if the Grits persist in making trouble, they will meet with fortitude any contingency which may arise, and if it be so decreed, will view with composure the defeat of the ministry.

On the 13th of April, Mr. Brown was introduced to the House by Mr. Dorion and Mr. Mowat, and took his seat on the lower ministerial benches, next to Mr. Dorion. This was the first occasion on which I saw Mr. Brown. His appearance was striking, made unnaturally so by the sombre black clothing he always affected. A man six feet three in height, of massive proportion; a frame large-boned, loosely-jointed and ungainly, but with a face strong and expressive.

In our almost daily walks, Mr. McGee was free to express his dissatisfaction with the position he occupied in the Government. The immigration depart-

ment which had been promised him was still held by Mr. Evanturel, and the great hopes he had formed of an aggressive effort to obtain a large immigration from the British Isles this year were rapidly vanishing as the spring advanced and he saw nothing done. The House Committee on Immigration had approved of all the recommendations made by him four years before, such as the preparation of an emigrant map of Canada for gratuitous distribution in Europe, showing the districts in which free grant lands lay, nature of the soil, colonization roads and railroads; but the opposition of the French members to the transfer of the department, coupled with the apathy of the other members of the Government, had quite dispirited him.

As the session rolled on the strength of the Government became visibly weaker and weaker. The fifteen or more new members from Lower Canada who deserted Mr. Cartier in the vote on the Militia Bill the year before, were rapidly drifting back to their old allegiance. At a time when every vote was of the highest value, Mr. Kierkowski, a supporter of the Government, and member for Vercheres, was unseated, and Mr. Painchard, who was declared elected in his stead, was a supporter of Mr. Cartier. At length the disintegration of the ministerial party having proceeded sufficiently far, Mr. John A. Macdonald gave notice, on the 29th April, when Mr. Howland introduced his budget, showing a deficit of nearly two million dollars, that on the following Friday, when the House was moved into supply, he proposed to move a vote of want of confidence. This motion was made on the 1st of May. The grounds of the motion, as stated by our leader, were very general in their nature. The budget was the occasion rather than the cause of the motion. The debate on this amendment lasts until the 7th, and in the meantime every doubtful vote is canvassed over

and over again by both sides. There are rumours of reconstruction. Mr. Dorion addressed the House in support of the Government, while Mr. Morris attacks it bitterly, and twits Mr. McDougall and Mr. Foley with having abandoned representation by population, and for forcing the Separate School Bill upon Upper Canada against the wishes of the people. Everybody in Quebec is talking about the vote. If you speak to a ministerialist, he will tell you that most of the loose fish, if not all, will vote with the Government. If you speak to an *anti,* you will find the opposite view expressed. These undecided or non-committal individuals are the subjects of reports at all hours. At ten o'clock in the morning, the announcement is made, "Jenkins is all right, last night decided him, he will support the ministry." At noon there will be another story, "Jenkins has just now promised to vote with the opposition, he heard something this morning that caused him to make up his mind." Later on in the day you will hear from a third party, "Jenkins is on the fence, and does not know how he will vote." Towards the end of the debate, Mr. Brown rose, saying:

"The hon. member for Kingston sits there, like an aged grimalkin, sitting at the door of a pantry, watching the mice come in and out—and out they come, one after another. First, representation by population; then, sectarian schools; next, the postal service. But not now is the hon. gentleman ready to spring upon them and demolish them. He waits for the Budget, and then when next the mice come out to play about, he pounces forward with a vote of want of confidence. * * * * The end I have always desired to attain has been justice to Upper Canada in taxation, as in other matters. I have the advantage over many members in my long experience, and I am

convinced that until there is a change in our constitutional relations, there can be no peace or harmony. I have always regretted to see a man of honour go to the treasury benches, because I feel there is always a premium placed on the desertion of principles, and that a good man must either retire from public life, or sacrifice his reputation for ever. The consequences of the system have been such as to cause graves to be laid on each side of the street, filled with our public men, who have been killed under the existing practice. Now, if at the time when the hon. member was chosen as the head of the administration last year, he had come to me, and had asked me to join his Government, I would have asked him at once whether he was prepared to go for representation by population. I know what his answer would have been. "Oh! that is all nonsense; the Government must be carried on." I would then have said, "I prefer you to the others, and will support you against them, but on the first favourable opportunity I will kill you too." If the Premier should ask what I will do when I have killed him off, I answer: "Kill others. I have killed more than one ministry in my day."

In the evening Mr. McGee again walked with me after dinner, and he referred to Mr. Brown and the political situation as follows:—

"Mr. Brown says what he has to say with a vigor and manliness which it is impossible not to respect, whatever one may think of his views. Did anyone in any parliament ever lord it over the assembly as if they were curs to be whipped, when they ventured to growl or snarl, as Mr. Brown did yesterday. Not a soul dared to rise and protest against what would have been insolence were it not true—neither ministerialist nor oppositionist. He has well been styled the War-

wick, or king-maker, of Canada. I thought his reference to grimalkin quite as applicable to himself as to Macdonald.

When this House first assembled last year after the election, and before Mr. Brown was a member, Mr. Sicotte, by his dulcet tones and winning ways, won over nearly all the new Lower Canada members, as well as some of the old, who started out by supporting Mr. Cartier. Soon they strayed away from mother Cartier, and felt safe to sport around quite independently. After all, said they, Sicotte is right; Brown is only a bug-a-boo to frighten cowards with. We are not going in leading strings any longer.

Soon, however, the great grimalkin appears, with flashing eyes and switching tail, his sable covering almost devilish in its sombre hue. Their timid souls sink into their very toes. They scurry for their holes, tumbling over each other in their eagerness to get to mother Cartier, who will protect them from such ferocious monsters.

The division may come on any day, and I will venture to predict not a soul of those new members who voted with us last session on the Militia Bill will give us their support. I will say this for Dorion and his little crew of *rouges*—they can be depended upon to stick to the ship through storm and sunshine, and not scuttle like rats from a sinking ship as soon as waves begin to rise."

On the 7th of May, a vote was taken on the amendment, and the Government was defeated on the division by 64 to 59, almost all the desertions being from the Lower Canada section. The occasion was one of great excitement, and in contrast to the silence with which the announcement of the defeat of the late Government was received. Members collected on the floor of the Chamber, and sang in lusty chorus as the defeated ministers filed out.

Chapter 18.

A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT.

I now approach an episode which was more painful to Mr. McGee than anything that had occurred heretofore during his parliamentary experience. As soon as the division had been taken, instead of calling his Cabinet together to determine upon their course, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was closeted with Mr. Brown, and subsequently with Mr. Dorion and Mr. Holton. The House was adjourned day after day without anything being done, and the air was filled with rumours as to the intentions of the Government, but nothing definite could be discovered. One day it was said there would be a re-construction, with Brown, Dorion, Mowat and Holton in the Government, and everybody wondered how Sicotte could be got to shake hands with Brown, whom he was known to bitterly hate. Sicotte returned to Montreal, and was shortly afterwards followed by Dorion, who tried to induce him to join the new Government of which he was to be the Lower Canadian leader, but Sicotte positively refused.

I saw Mr. McGee, who was unwell at the time these negotiations were going on, and found him extremely bitter at the treatment he was receiving. He said he had been offered the position of special emigration agent in London, to get rid of him as he thought, but he would cut his right hand off before accepting such a position under the circumstances. What stung him deepest was the conduct of Dorion and Holton, who had been his warmest political friends and allies since his arrival in Canada. He had assisted them in all their campaigns, and Mr. Holton had nominated him on the three occasions he had presented himself to the electors of Montreal West.

He said, to him the members of the Cabinet were like a small band of crusaders, each wearing the cross on his arm, sworn to assist each other at all times and under all circumstances. Loyalty and faithfulness and perfect confidence were the watchwords of the Union. With this high conception of the duty which honour required each to observe to the other, one can well understand his anger at finding the Premier plotting with Mr. Brown to throw overboard all the Lower Canada members, and substitute others under the leadership of Mr. Dorion; and how filled with pain more than anger he was to find that Dorion and Holton, although residing in the same hotel as himself, and meeting him every day with a friendly smile and a kindly word, were all the time aware of the conspiracy, but said nothing.

Of Mr. Brown's conduct he appeared least affected, because, he said, Brown is not fighting for himself, but for the cause he has at heart. He has never professed any special friendship for me, and is under no obligation to treat me in a different way than he would any other obstacle that interfered with the accomplishment of his purpose. With the others it is different.

About this time some person told him that the Premier, in speaking of Mr. Thibaudeau, who was to be a new member of the Cabinet, said he was not a mere adventurer; he was a man of wealth and influence, and that he had had enough of Irish Catholics with Foley and McGee. He was very indignant and bitter over this, saying, no man with ordinary self-respect, who had been treated in this manner, could possibly think of going through the humiliation of serving under such a chief, who was insensible of the slightest delicacy and scrupulousness of conduct which should exist between man and man, and much the more between individuals under special obligations to each

other as members of the same Government. The Premier has, he said, the misfortune of all weak minds; they cannot be severe without being vulgar and abusive. When I was asked to join the Government, I was told it was not on account of my following in the House, but because I would act as a kind of buffer between Upper and Lower Canada, and might be able to reconcile the conflicting religious element of each province, and produce harmony. His malicious aspersions upon the Irish people will redound upon himself and his Government, with redoubled force, before six months have gone. I shall run in the coming election as an independent. I have now no leader but my conscience, and if ever I follow anyone again, it will be a man with a head and a heart, not a potter's vessel, that may be moulded to-day into one shape by one dominant influence, and to-morrow into another.

On the 14th, Sandfield Macdonald announced his new Cabinet, which, in addition to the clear Grit members from Upper Canada, was wholly changed as regards Lower Canada by taking in Mr. Dorion, Mr. Holton, Mr. Letellier and Mr. Thibaudeau.

An effort was made to get through some supplies, but as this was resisted by the opposition, nothing was left except to dissolve Parliament and go to the country, which was done on the 18th, although at this time a number of portfolios had not yet been filled.

Looking back, at this period when the smoke of battle has subsided, one can see much justification for the course pursued by Sandfield Macdonald, unless he was willing to deliver up the reins of power to his antagonists. Mr. Sicotte's following had deserted him to a man. Mr. McGee never had any following amongst the French Canadians; his power lay with the Irish Catholics of the Upper Province, and here his influence was needless, because of the almost overpowering strength of the Reformers. No doubt Mr.

Brown, with his force of character, convinced Mr. Sandfield Macdonald he could win such additional support in Upper Canada, that along with the *rouge* members from Lower Canada, would give him a working majority. It would, however, have been a more commendable proceeding to have taken his entire Cabinet into his confidence, and requested their assistance in saving the party, even at the sacrifice of their own positions, than to have thrown them overboard in the summary manner he did. By the one course he might have retained their support. As it was, he had no more bitter or more implacable opponents in the new House than Mr. Sicotte and Mr. McGee.

Chapter 19.

THE GERM OF CONFEDERATION—1863.

Returning home after the dissolution of the House, I proceeded to organize my party for another election, but the particulars of the contest afford little interest at this date. It is sufficient to say that my majority was increased mainly by the splendid work of Lawyer Williams, who was the agent of Col. Airey, to whom Col. Talbot had devised a large section of his lands in Southwold and Aldeborough, and whose tenants were not unwilling to gain the approbation of a person who had their welfare so largely under his control. In these two townships I added fully fifty votes to my former majority.

When the result of the election was considered, it was found the House would have about forty entirely new members, and that while gains had been made by the Government in Upper Canada, counterbalancing losses had been made in Lower Canada,

and upon the best calculation which could be made, the Government, if not actually in a minority, would be able to hold power by only two or three of a majority.

To no one more than Mr. McGee did this result give cause of anxiety, and lifting himself above the personal bitterness which surrounded the whole unhappy episode, he set himself at once to work for the only remedy which, in his judgment, existed for our political ills, namely, in the federation of all the British American provinces. He at once prepared and published a series of open letters to the public, in the Montreal *Gazette*, beginning with the 1st of July, on the present condition of Canadian affairs, in which he said:—

"Upper Canada says to Lower Canada, unmistakably the present state of things between you and us cannot continue much longer. Great Britain says to the North American colonies the same thing. The American Government, by the voice of cannon, proclaims that the former state of things on this continent is closed. Can it be premature then for us to ask ourselves, what is to become of Canada and her sister provinces in the new arrangement of these times? I maintain four propositions, to be established—

(1) That we cannot go on much longer as we are and maintain our connection with the motherland.

(2) That if we do not desire to drift into democracy, we must assert, not so much a contrary, as a distinct principle of government, and rally our own population around it.

(3) That the principle, distinct from the American, is the equal union of authority and liberty hitherto found possible only under the form of a constitutional monarchy.

(4) That the whole of British North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, should form one

nation, and our safety lies in the growth of the national sentiment, that we are a people amongst the great peoples of the world."

These letters were by Mr. McGee subsequently moulded into a magazine article, and published in the "British American" magazine,and brought his name more prominently than any other before the people of the British American colonies as the champion of a federation of the provinces.

The delegation from the maritime provinces, at Quebec in 1861, found Mr. McGee the warmest friend of the cause they were advocating, the Intercolonial Railway. It is not surprising, therefore, that he was invited, during the summer of 1863, to address a meeting in Halifax as a representative Canadian, although no longer in the Cabinet, to place before the people the advantages of a closer union between the provinces. Amongst the distinguished statesmen present were Mr. Tilley, Premier of New Brunswick, Mr. Johnston, Premier of Nova Scotia, Mr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary, and the Hon. Joseph Howe.

Mr. McGee was good enough to send me the Halifax papers containing an account of his reception, which disclosed the fact that the public representatives amongst the maritime people were in advance of the Canadians in appreciating the benefits to be derived from an interprovincial union.

On his way home, Mr. McGee lectured to a large audience in St. John, New Brunswick, on the same subject, and his speeches, which were extensively copied by the press throughout all the provinces, had a great influence in moulding public opinion on this important subject, and paved the way for the further advance which was made a few months later by the action of Mr. Brown, of which I shall have occasion shortly to relate the particulars.

Chapter 20.

THE GOVERNMENT A WATER-LOGGED SHIP. —1863.

The House having dissolved without voting any supplies, in June, it became absolutely necessary that Parliament should be assembled at as early a date as possible after the election, and accordingly the proclamation was issued, fixing August 13th for that purpose. As soon as the members had put in an appearance at Quebec, very active canvassing took place, but it was quite impossible to foretell with accuracy what the division list would disclose. The first trial of strength, necessarily, would be the election of a Speaker. Brown was principally spoken of by the ministerialists, and a great fight over his election was anticipated, as he would be a bitter pill to swallow by those who otherwise would be supporters of the Government from Lower Canada. At the last moment, however, discretion was thought to be the better part of valor, and Mr. Wallbridge was nominated by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, and seconded by Mr. Dorion, and was elected by a vote of sixty-six to fifty-eight, to the great jubilation of the ministerialists.

It was appreciated on all hands that the existence of the Government depended at all times upon two or three votes. When, therefore, the question of the right of Mr. Rankin—Government supporter for the riding of Essex—came before the House for consideration, instead of being referred, as the universal rule was, to the Privileges and Elections Committee, it was moved by Mr. Scatcherd, a Government supporter, that the House declare Mr. Rankin elected. This proposal was bitterly opposed by the opposition, mainly upon the ground that it was contrary to all the established precedents and usages of the House. In speak-

ing to this motion, Mr. McGee made a very strong argument against the motion. Before the conclusion of his remarks, he was interrupted in a sneering manner by the Premier, which gave rise to the most scathing retort ever listened to in the House, and could only be compared to another extemporaneous speech drawn from him a month later, when attacked by one of his old friends, Mr. Huntington. The rupture of the political and personal relations which had existed for so many years between himself and the leading men on the other side of the House seemed to have acted as a stimulant upon his nervous system, so that during this whole session it was in a state of constant excitability, and the brightest oratorical efforts of his life time, in my opinion, were made at this juncture, when called upon to meet taunts of having deserted his old friends and proved traitor to his old cause. On this occasion, he said:—

"I rise again, Mr. Speaker, because the privileges and constitution of Parliament are at stake. I regret to have heard, in the debate yesterday, Mr. Brown speak of the salutary established usages of the House as so many cobwebs, which, like any other cobwebs, had better be swept away than preserved. The honourable member, accustomed to play the tribune out of doors, seems to forget that we are here sitting, not as a public convention which shall decide its own internal arrangements by the will of a majority of its own members, but that we are sitting here in the ordinance of Parliament, for Parliament is not a convention of delegates, but is itself an ordinance, and the highest ordinance known to the constitution. We are here, not that we may be above the law, and that we may override the law, but we are here in this high place that we may set a conspicuous example of obedience to the law. If this method of speaking with levity, with contempt of the established forms and usages which

shall govern this House, shall unfortunately become common, the consequence will be to drag down what it is our first duty to maintain, the barriers of law and justice which protect our privileges and rights, and we shall destroy in the hearts and minds of the people those sentiments of respect and reverence for the rights and privileges of Parliament, which, by our example and precept, we ought to especially inculcate in others."

Proceding then to deal with his relations to the present supporters of the Government, he said:—

"I have always acted in good faith and loyalty to my party." (Mr. Sandfield Macdonald interrupted, "At home and abroad?") To which Mr. McGee replied: "Yes, Mr. Speaker, at home and abroad. Although there may have been imprudence and many errors in the early career of one who was an editor at seventeen, and a public speaker before I was of age, and although there have been many things that my own judgment at this day does not approve, at all events, throughout the whole long road, and it remains for the most part in irrevocable type, the honourable member will find no act of duplicity, he will find no instance in which I ever betrayed a friend or intrigued against an associate. I have not been fair to men's faces and false behind their back. I have not condoled with sinister sympathy with the friends of a public man whom I desired to injure, while at the same time I placed in the hands of his enemies weapons of attack, forged by malice, and poisoned by slanderous personalities. I resume my appeal to the honourable gentlemen of the Reform party; perhaps it is the last I can, with propriety, make. Will you, for a Premier who obtained his position by accident and retained it by duplicity, will you set aside the salutary enactments which prescribe the proper tribunal to decide the facts relating to this election?"

This extract from Mr. McGee's speech will fail to give an idea of the rhetorical skill with which the words were uttered, of the expressive inflections of voice, of the keen irony and sarcasm that fired the speaker, of the earnestness of his appeal, of the warmth of his condemnation, or of the effect it had upon those who hung upon his words. The members upon the floor, and the spectators in the galleries, were spell-bound and almost breathless during the delivery, and the merciless flogging of the Premier excited the same feelings as would be aroused in a gladiatorial combat, in which one party, by the most exquisite thrusts, is done slowly to death. During the scene the Premier's features flushed occasionally, his hands twitched nervously, a ghastly sort of smile spread over his face, and he looked like a man who felt acutely the tortures he was undergoing, but was resolved to die game. He did not attempt to reply for some days, and by this time the effect could not be displaced.

An amendment to the Address, made by Mr. Sicotte, which was debated for many days, attacked the *replatrage* or reconstruction of the ministry as unconstitutional. In this amendment the Government was supported by a majority of three, the vote standing sixty to sixty-three. Later on, there was a division upon Mr. Brown's motion of enquiry into the expenditure on the new buildings at Ottawa, in which Government was sustained by a majority of four, the vote standing fifty-six to fifty-two.

An interesting debate followed the introduction of the Government Militia Bill, when Mr. McGee, on the 10th December, seized the occasion to express himself strongly on the importance of federation, a subject which he vigorously supported in season and out of season. On this occasion he said:

"Ninety-nine out of one hundred Americans have a fanatical faith in their institutions, and are prepared

to fight for them; yet, I hold that, take it all in all, the theory of the British system, fairly carried out, secures in the largest degree a Government blessed by liberty and law. We have a financial policy; we have here a militia policy; we ought to have a constitutional policy which will bring the hearts of all classes of the people into daily accord with the Government. If we cannot settle the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada alone, let us seek in a union of all the provinces the alternative resource which it presents for reconstructing our whole system, so as to win for it the hearty love and confidence of the whole people. What we want first, to make soldiers, is not shakos and trousers with stripes, but trust and pride and a resolute preference for our own system of government. This is the *morale* which the highest modern authority assures us, in war, is equal to three to one against the physical force arrayed against it."

A few days after this debate, the House was thunderstruck by the announcement that Mr. Sicotte had been appointed a judge of the Superior Court. His qualifications were admitted on all hands, but the circumstances under which the position was offered and accepted—after his motion of non-confidence in the Government a few weeks before—and the importance to the Government of getting rid of his opposition in the House, were all calculated to shock the public conscience, and raise the suspicion of an improper transaction. In talking the matter over with Mr. McGee, he said nothing ever surprised him more than this affair. On the very day before, Sicotte had strongly urged Foley and himself not to listen to any overtures from the Government. He said he went to Levis the next morning, and on his return found the *Official Gazette* extra in circulation announcing the appointment.

On the 17th of September, Mr. Cockburn moved a vote of want of confidence in the Government owing to Sicotte's appointment. The division took place next day, which resulted in favour of the Government by only two votes.

Chapter 21.

Mr. McGEE CROSSES OVER.

The friction which had existed between Mr. McGee and his old colleagues at the beginning of the session, at last culminated in a right royal battle, and ended, as might have been foreseen, in his going over unreservedly into the ranks of the Opposition.

On Tuesday, the 2nd of October, when some unimportant item of supply was being considered, Mr. McGee took occasion to charge the Government with breach of faith with the Maritime Provinces, in backing out of the Intercolonial Railway agreement of 1862. When he sat down, Mr. Holton replied, and amongst other things, said it was most unfortunate the member for Montreal West should ever have been a member of the Government of this country, and he would not undertake the defence of any acts to which that honourable gentleman had been a party. That Mr. McGee, by the course he had taken, had foreclosed himself from any courtesy whatever, except the strict line required by parliamentary etiquette.

Mr. McGee made a short reply, resenting the habit Mr. Holton had of calling members to order, and his exhibition of unparliamentary temper, his pompous ways and ridiculous assumption of superiority. This was in the afternoon. Late that night Mr. Huntington took up the cudgels on behalf of the Premier and Mr. Holton, and proceeded to lecture Mr. McGee for

the animosity he displayed towards his old friends, twitting him upon his new alliance with those whom he had formerly so bitterly assailed. It was now past midnight when this breeze sprang up, and was entirely unpremeditated by the parties or anticipated by the House. Mr. McGee rose to reply at one o'clock, and delivered himself, in part, as follows, after first referring to the offensive manner with which Mr. Holton had dragged his name into the debate:

"Mr. Huntington has referred to the hard things I have spoken respecting Mr. Cartier and Mr. Macdonald, but these were said in open warfare. They have said hard things of me, I have struck back as hard in return, but Mr. Cartier has never acted with me in political alliance; has never been in my confidence; he has been an open enemy, and I will say that the best friends I have ever made were made on the field of battle, and I hope I shall make him my friend in the same frank and outspoken manner in which I have made him my enemy. I have received no favours from the present ministry, and I owe them nothing; I was called to the last ministry because it was felt I represented in a manner the Irish Catholics of Canada, and could be of service to the ministry. I refused to canvas against the Finance Minister (Mr. Holton), and the Attorney General (Mr. Dorion), when seeking re-election in their constituencies. Mr. Huntington has criticized my conduct towards my old friends, but what could any honourable gentleman think of his course in the county of Shefford, when Mr. Drummond was a candidate for that constituency. The honourable gentleman intrigued for his defeat, that he might be elected for the county himself at a future time. He managed to play his cards so well as to get into the House, but it was by placing his foot upon the neck of a man insuperably nobler than himself in every respect. I see now that when a man

has drawn his sword in politics in Canada, it is better that he should throw away the scabbard altogether ; better no half measure, and such will not be my measures henceforth."

This extract very weakly indicates the keen sarcasm and fervid eloquence with which his subject was adorned, nor is it possible to convey any conception of the effective manner in which the reference to Mr. Huntington placing his foot upon the neck of Mr. Drummond was made. The gesture of contempt, the withering tone of voice, cannot be described. At the close, I, along with others of his admirers, gathered around Mr. McGee, and complimented him upon his splendid effort, and after some vigorous handshaking, we carried him off in triumph to his hotel.

On the 8th of October, there was another division, on Mr. Galt's want of confidence motion, in which the Government was sustained by another small majority of three votes. I have, perhaps, unnecessarily, given details of the close majorities with which the Government was sustained in its efforts to transact the public business, but I have done so because this evidence of weakness ultimately led to Mr. Brown's motion on the 12th of October, which justified my giving him and Mr. McGee the credit of being the fathers of confederation.

A few days before the 12th, Mr. McGee informed me, in great spirits, that Mr. Brown had consulted with him over the condition of public affairs, and had admitted the impossibility of either party carrying on the Government with the trifling majority which it was able to obtain, however often an appeal to the country was made. That Mr. Brown had said he would approve of a federal union of the two Canadas, or of all the provinces, or any other constitutional change which will eliminate the present sectional antagonism, that had become destructive to all progress,

and annihilates all hopes for the future welfare and advancement of the country. He, therefore, solicited Mr. McGee's support, which was freely promised, to a resolution which he moved on the 12th of October, and as it proved the embryo from which federation was developed, is well worthy of being set out *in extenso* in this narrative. The resolution read:—

"Whereas, on the 2nd of February, 1859, the Hon. Mr. Cartier, the Hon. Mr. Galt, and the Hon. Mr. Rose, members of the Executive Council of Canada, then in London, addressed a despatch to the Colonial Minister, in which they declared "that very "grave difficulties now present themselves in conducting the Government of Canada in such a manner as "to show due regard to the wishes of its numerous "population. That differences exist to an extent "which prevents any perfect and complete assimilation of the views of the two sections. That progress "of population has been more rapid in the western "section, and claims are now made on behalf of its "inhabitants for giving them representation in the "legislature proportionate to their numbers. That "the result is shewn by an agitation fraught with great "danger to the peaceful and harmonious working of "our constitutional system and detrimental to the progress of the province. That the necessity of providing a remedy for a state of things that is quickly becoming worse, of allaving feelings that are daily "being aggravated by the condition of political parties, has impressed the advisors of Her Majesty's "representatives in Canada of the importance of seeking for such a mode of dealing with the difficulties "as may forever remove them."

Therefore, be it resolved, that a select committee be appointed, to enquire and report on the important subjects embraced in the despatch."

As discussed and decided between Mr. McGee and Mr. Brown, this motion was only introduced to be withdrawn, Mr. Brown stating in the House that he moved the resolution to keep the matter alive in the meantime, but would introduce it again next session, and pointed out that the position in which the House found itself during this session was but another proof of the absolute necessity of some means being found for settling these constitutional difficulties which had so long divided the two sections of the province, and thought the solution of the question lay in the motion he held in his hands.

The business of the House was now speedily brought to an end, and prorogation took place on the 15th of October.

Chapter 22.

MR. BROWN'S MOTION.

On the 19th of February, 1864, the legislature again is in session at Quebec. There is much discussion in and out of the lobbies as to the strength the Government will disclose upon the first division. The Opposition feel very sanguine of defeating the Government, unless the same tactics are pursued as gave rise to so much adverse comment throughout the country last fall, when Mr. Sicotte was got rid of from the ranks of the Opposition, by appointing him to the Bench.

The strength of the Government has been weakened by two votes, through the defeat of the new Solicitor General, Mr. Richards, in Leeds, although he was returned by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five in the last election. This undoubtedly has had a very demoralizing effect upon the ministerialists.

On the 14th of March, Mr. Brown moved again his resolution introduced in the October previous, *re constitutional changes,* and supported it by a very powerful speech. The debate on this resolution resulted in its being ultimately carried by a substantial majority. It showed how considerable was the advance made by the idea of a federation of the provinces during the last six months, and materially contributed to the coalition of parties which was arrived at before the session ended. I am justified, therefore, in dealing with the debate at some length. After reading his motion, Mr. Brown said:—

"I think, Mr. Speaker, that political feelings have so far subsided as to enable every honourable gentleman to see that it is absolutely necessary we should have all causes of variance between the two sections of the province remedied; that the time has come when we can approach a question like this with a degree of harmony, that we could never bring to its consideration in former times. I have sought to bring the subject before the House in the least objectionable form. I do not bring forward now a proposition of my own, but appear as a defender of a policy that has been enunciated by my honourable friends on the opposite side of the House. I have determined that I will take ground that cannot be assailed; that is perfectly indisputable, and that both sides of the House have agreed to. I ask my honourable friends opposite to take that course now which they considered it desirable to take five years ago. There was never a wiser or more sound and patriotic advice given by ministers of the Crown than was given by His Excellency's advisors upon this subject, in the words I have just quoted. (Mr. Cartier here interrupted, "This is the first time that you have ever said so." Mr. Brown, continuing): I can, on that account, say it with more force now, and I can say it with all my heart. If I have been unable

to give the honourable gentleman's late Government credit for what good actions they may have performed upon other subjects, I have always given them credit for their bold and manly intentions on this, and I am sorry the Government of my honourable friend from Kingston has not carried the question to a practical result. I ask no more at present by my motion than that a day shall be appointed to consider the great propositions which the honourable gentlemen laid down in 1859, when acting in the responsible position of sworn advisors of the Crown. Here upon one side is the Hon. Mr. Cartier and on the other side the Hon. Sandfield Macdonald; the one has a majority in Lower Canada, and the other has a majority in Upper Canada. Now, the question is, which of these honourable gentlemen shall prevail. I think until every effort has been exhausted by the honourable member for Cornwall to obtain a majority from both sections, he is not justified in governing the country. I hope that my honourable friends opposite are tired of crises, for a general election will surely come if this thing be not done. I stand here as an independent member, and did I consider that the interests of the country would be advanced, that the principles I advocate would be advanced to-morrow by the removal of this administration, I would give my vote for that purpose without hesitation. I wish to call the attention of the House to the effect that the present system of carrying on the affairs of the country has produced. There have been constant jarrings between Upper and Lower Canada, and numerous occasions of crisis in the successive governments. There was a crisis in June, 1854, and another in September, 1854. In 1855 there were two, and also in 1857. In July, 1858, there was a crisis when the Brown-Dorion Government was formed, and another in August, and another in December. Then there was the Robinson crisis, and the

Carling crisis, and the Cauchon crisis. Then there was the great crisis in 1862, and another in 1863, and how many there will be in 1864, no one can tell. (Mr. Cartier: "It is a chronic state." Mr. Brown): Undoubtedly, we have been in a chronic state of crises for eleven years. No honourable gentleman will presume to say that this is a desirable state of things to have continued. The question is, what remedy ought to be applied? The member for Montreal West (Mr. McGee) is favourable to a federation of the provinces, and of a monarchial government. I do not know whether the member for Sherbrooke (Mr. Galt) is in favour of a confederation of all the provinces, or of the Canadas alone. (Mr. Galt: "Of all the provinces." Mr. Brown): There are some in favour of a dissolution pure and simple, and some favourable to a legislative union of all the provinces. I have no doubt the committee will be able to discover some basis upon which the legislature can agree. I therefore propose the following committee: Cameron, Cartier, Cauchon, J. S. Macdonald, McGee, Holton, Foley, Galt, Turcotte, Dorion, Chapais, Dickson, Dunkin, Joly, McKellar, Scoble, Street, and the mover."

To this resolution, Mr. Perreault rose and moved an amendment, praying the Imperial Government to pass a Bill to provide that the principle of equality of representation of the two sections of the province shall by the legislature always be maintained, unimpaired and inviolate. Mr. Perrault is a diminutive man, and his amendment caused considerable amusement. Mr. Brown and he presented an appearance like Landseer's painting of dignity and impudence. The effect was heightened by his attempt to speak in English, of which language he had but little command. He received so little support that his amendment was voted down by a majority of fifty-seven, without debate. Mr. Galt, in speaking to the motion, said he was as-

tonished that the Government proposed to let the House divide upon this motion without expressing its policy. As for him, he would vote against it, because he thought the Government should not delegate its functions by referring such an important matter to a committee. Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald answered, pointing out that Mr. Galt, although a member of the Government for many years, since 1859, had never introduced any legislation upon the subject, and said that the present Government did not propose to be drawn into expressing any policy on the matter.

Hon. J. A. Macdonald said, we must have, not a federation of the provinces, but a unification of the provinces, with one legislature, with one Government, and as nearly as may be, with one set of laws. We must have, not a federal union, but a union in fact. He then attacked Mr. Brown for his inconsistency on the question of representation by population, inasmuch as the despatch referred to in the motion admitted the impossibility of that principle, and suggested a federal union as an alternative. The Hon. Mr. Cartier also said he would oppose the motion, as the result would be simply to smother the question. Mr. Brown, as might have been expected, was supported by his right hand man, Mr. McKenzie, who said it was not too much to have expected from a statesman of Mr. John A. Macdonald's standing, that he should give the House the benefit of his statesmanship on the subject, but no remedy had been proposed by him. As for himself, he would vote for any Government, Tory or any other, that would settle the question. He was not particular as to what that remedy was, but would accept any reasonable plan of settlement. Until, however, some settlement was made, it would be impossible to expect the agitation to cease. Mr. Cartwright, who had been returned to the House at the last election, and who had hitherto given an independent support to Mr.

J. A. Macdonald, threw the weight of his talents, now beginning to be appreciated, in support of the motion. He said he had listened with great pleasure to the remarks made by the honourable member for South Oxford (Mr. Brown) in introducing his motion, and he could say he would have great pleasure in seeing him get his committee. The honourable gentleman had said he had no followers, but however this might be, it could not be denied that he occupied a position that was occupied by only one other gentleman (Mr. McGee). The honourable member for South Oxford was the representative man of a very considerable section of the population, as was also the honourable gentleman to whom he referred (Mr. McGee). Mr. Brown certainly had the control of this matter, as well as, in a great measure, the sectional difficulty which it involved, in his hands. The honourable gentleman had the power to effect a great deal of good, if he devoted his time to the task of effecting an armistice between the contending parties.

The debate now stood over, and was not resumed until the 19th of May.

I was accustomed each evening to smoke my pipe in Mr. McGee's room, which joined mine, and I became the recipient of his views upon this important question. He said he proposed to speak in favour of the motion later on, and thought Mr. Brown was showing very high patriotism in proceeding with the matter, knowing he was acting in direct opposition to the views of Dorion and Holton, as well as many of his old followers in the Upper Province. The attitude of the Opposition leaders, he thought, was in accordance with a policy they had adopted on the question since confederation was first broached, namely, to take no step which by any chance could imperil their political fortunes. If it could be shown to afford a party advantage they would put all their strength behind it,

but at present they could only see in the success of the motion a victory for their old enemy, George Brown. They feared that to support the motion would imperil their position in Lower Canada, and might throw the vote of that section of the province into the hands of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, who was waiting, ready to take advantage of just such an eventuality. The curse of our country was, that in practical politics party success stood higher than the good of the people. He felt assured that Macdonald, Cartier and Galt were, in their hearts, favourable to some solution such as this to our national ills, but they did not think, from a party standpoint, the time was ripe to adopt it. They believed the Government was on its last legs, and were not disposed to lose a chance to turn them out, and thought, to support this motion would certainly deprive them of that opportunity. Perhaps nothing could better indicate the demoralized condition into which responsible government had now fallen than an incident which occurred on the night of Sunday, 21st March. Mr. McGee and I had been out late, and returning about midnight, as we passed through the hall of Russell's Hotel, an inner door opened, and out came Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, Mr. Holton and Mr. McDougall, the three most prominent members of the ministry, and with them Alonzo Wright, the member for Ottawa County, who was classed amongst the independent members of the House, and who was known to be much interested in seeing the new buildings at Ottawa completed at an early date, and the legislature take up its residence in the beautiful home now being erected for it on the magnificent site overlooking the Ottawa River. Only one conclusion could be drawn from the circumstance, namely, that the strongest influences were being used to control Mr. Wright's vote.

Chapter 23.

MR. McGEE'S REMINISCENCES.

A few evenings later, Mr. McGee spoke to me, with great concern, of the Fenian movement which was spreading throughout Canada, and which, in the light of future events, is deserving of more than a passing notice. Incidentally, he told me something of his early career, when his soul was filled with youthful enthusiasm and aspirations for the glory and advancement of his race. He spoke of a dinner, described by the Montreal *Gazette,* held on St. Patrick's night, in the Exchange Hotel, in Montreal, a few evenings before, where one hundred Irishmen were present, and where sedition of the rankest kind was talked and sung, one of the songs being a parady on "Britannia, the Gem of the Ocean," which was sung as "Britannia, the curse of the ocean, the scourge of the brave and the free," and had for its refrain, "To hell with the Red, White and Blue," all of which, the report said, was received with loud and prolonged applause. "My poor, unfortunate fellow-countrymen; God help them," he said, "any Yankee orator, with lots of gush, can work on your national susceptibilities. In the States they induce you to enlist in the army of the North by telling you, when the war is ended you shall be marshalled, and taken to Ireland, to deliver your fellow-countrymen from the tyrant's yoke. He spoke of one, O'Mahoney, as a crack-brained enthusiast, twice an inmate of a lunatic asylum, who had organized a Fenian society in the United States. "These wretches, he said, "I know have been in Montreal, for I have plenty of friends there who keep me posted about all their doings, but so far,,I believe, they have received no encouragement." He proceeded to write a public letter to the Irishmen of Montreal, which was shortly

afterwards published in the *Gazette,* warning them to have no parley with these American agitators, and quoting to them the very serious penalties which our Canadian laws pronounced upon every one who should administer, or aids in or is present at, the administering of an oath by which any person agrees to commit any seditious, treasonable or felonious act. Referring, on this occasion, to his early career, he remarked: "God blessed me with the best blessing given to man, a loving Christian mother. If I have any merit as a writer of verse, the poetic fire was inherited from her dear spirit, and was nurtured by the sweet Irish melodies she sang to me in childhood. As the years go by her memory becomes brighter and brighter, even as a star when the shadows of night come on. She instilled in my mind a love of poetry, and for the old legends of my native land. I came to America when 17 years of age, to the home of an aunt in Providence, R.I., but after a short stay, went to Boston, when the agitation for the repeal of the union in Ireland was at its height. I always had what is vulgarly styled, the "gift of the gab," and soon acquired a small reputation for my speeches in favour of the movement. In a short time I was offered, and accepted, a situation on the Boston *Pilot,* and in two years I was editor. I had some success, and in 1845 was offered and accepted the editorship of the Dublin *Freeman Journal.* I imagine O'Connell did not know what a youngster I was when he made this offer. The *Journal* did not prove advanced enough for my ideas, and I joined Gavin Duffy in editing the *Nation.* At this time I wrote most of my poetry dealing with the early history of my people. We were hot-blooded and visionary, and the famine, which now laid Ireland low, seemed to us the trumpet call to action. I was sent to Scotland to arouse my compatriots there. I had no sooner arrived than I

learned of the collapse of our insurrectionary movement, and that a reward was offered for my arrest. After many narrow escapes I reached the American shore once more, disillusioned, a sadder and, I believe, a wiser man. In Philadelphia, in 1848, I started a new paper called the *Nation*, but in the bitterness of my spirit at the lukewarmness or coldness of the Irish clergy towards our recourse to arms, I soon became embroiled with the bishop, and my paper had to succumb. I undertook the publication of the *Irish Celt*, in Boston, in 1850, and continued this until I was invited to Montreal in 1857. During this period the scales were removed from my eyes. Like the blind man when he saw Chirst, I could say, "Once I was blind, but now I see." The utter folly and impractibility of attempting to elevate the Irish people by inciting them to rebellion became apparent. I saw that he was the truest patriot who best could inculcate in them a desire to carve out homes for themselves and their children in a new country, and elevate themselves to a position of mental equality with their neighbours, and encouraged them to be contented with their new surroundings. Much must be forgiven to the ignorance and self-confidence of youth. Our aims were high. We valued not our lives in Ireland's cause. We were willing, and actually did, put to the hazard our all, whether domestic happiness, liberty, and even our heads, in the cause which was dearer to us than our very lives. Call the attempt insane, if you will; tell us the wrongs we complained of were partly imaginary, if you will, and that a rebellion under no possible circumstances could have succeeded, all of which I admit; yet our motives were honest, were patriotic, were unselfish, and the blame to be attached to us should not be great. Because I have been through it all myself, because I see what a will-o'-the-wisp, what a delusion all this fenianism is, I have no

patience with those wretched agitators who make use of the Irish, and trade on their ignorance and patriotism for their wicked purposes. I have this to say, however. I shall fight this movement in Canada to the last ditch. Fenianism shall never get a hold upon our people here, if I can prevent it. I am told O'Mahoney, who is the head centre, has spoken of me as a Judas Iscariot, and a traitor to Ireland, a snake whose head should be cracked, but I can beat him in this fight, for I have the confidence of the Irish people in Canada; they believe in my honesty and sincerity.

Chapter 24.

A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT—1864.

To return to matters political. Two days after the incident at the Russell Hotel, above described, before the Orders of the Day were called, the Premier (Sandfield Macdonald) announced to the House, that feeling its majority was not sufficient to permit of carrying on the Government of the country efficiently, the ministry had placed its resignation in the hands of the Governor, and thereupon moved the adjournment of the House. Although we all felt that the ministry was wading slowly, toilsomely, and painfully, through deep waters, the announcement was a surprise; but we were all eager to take advantage of the situation. Mr. McGee was jubilant, feeling that this result was, at least, a just retribution upon Sandfield Macdonald for his traitorous conduct the year before to his Lower Canadian colleagues. Ferguson Blair unsuccessfully attempted to construct a coalition Government, and approached our leader for that purpose, but he knew they were in our power, and refused them terms. On the 23rd Cartier is entrusted with the

forming of a Government, but decides to have the responsibility placed upon the old veteran, Sir Etienne Tache, who was induced, solely from patriotic motives, to undertake this task,, when his great age made such a burden very difficult to bear. The new administration is announced on the 30th, and my pleasure at seeing Mr. McGee once more take a position in the Government, commensurate with his great talents, was very great. His portfolio was that which was most congenial to him, and which had been promised him by the Macdonald-Sicotte administration, namely, the Department of Agriculture, which included the Bureau of Emigration.

The House now adjourned until the 3rd of May, to allow of the new ministers being returned by their constituents. Mr. McGee was returned by acclamation in Montreal West, and I was not surprised to find him again ringing the changes upon his hobby of the union of the provinces. Concluding his remarks on this head by calling his hearers to witness how he had at all times, in or out of office, zealously advocated the union of the provinces as the panacea for all our national ills. Great disappointment was felt by all of our friends at Mr. Foley's defeat in Waterloo. It means a loss of two votes, and in such a close contest as we are now constitutionally engaged in, this is most serious. It seems to show that George Brown is still supreme, and that another dissolution will still further reduce our supporters from Upper Canada. Affairs are rapidly assuming the position of a solid Upper Canada against a solid Lower Canada vote.

We had no more than fairly got started in May, after the adjournment, than the battle was again in full swing. Mr. Dorion, on the 13th, when Mr. Galt moved that the House resolve itself into a committee of supply, presented an amendment against the reduction of the canal tolls, in which the division list showed

us in a majority of two, the vote being sixty-four to sixty-two. On the 19th, the adjourned debate upon Mr. Brown's motion for a committee *re constitutional changes,* which had been standing since March 19th, was resumed. It soon became apparent that this motion was going to divide parties on altogether new lines. The members for the eastern townships, who during all the years in which representation by population had been to the fore, had plead for conciliation and toleration, seemed now heartily in sympathy with this motion, which appeared to them to afford a ray of light in the dismal darkness into which everything political was plunged. The balance of the Lower Canada members were opposed to it, almost to a man, viewing the motion as the thin edge of the wedge, which, if inserted, meant destruction to the predominance of their province in Canadian affairs. Amongst our friends in Upper Canada I found a strong feeling in favour of the motion. Nearly everybody was completely sick of the present state of affairs, which left the Government of the country at the mercy of two or three scalawags, who made a crisis something to be anticipated every day the House was in session.

Mr. McGee made a stirring address in favour of the motion, in which, amongst other things, he said:

"During the first session I sat in this House, Mr. Speaker, I seconded a motion to institute a committee of the House to enquire into the possibility of the union of the British North American provinces. In 1860 I had such a motion put upon the paper, and moved it, but failing to get sufficient support, I withdrew it. I have always advocated the union of these provinces, both before and since I had a seat in Parliament. I entirely believe in giving the member for South Oxford (Mr. Brown) an alternative proposition for his motion on the representation question. I am willing he should have his committee, and I will vote for it.

Mr. Brown is a man sectionally the strongest in his own section of Canada, while provincially he is the weakest man in the House. Why is this? Because, with all his great ability and energy, he has attached himself to sectional instead of national politics; because he has never embraced, with his heart and brain, the country as a whole, the country as a whole has rejected him from its reason and affections, and he is to-day as powerless in Canada as a whole as if he had no influence in Canada as a part."

Mr. Cartier said he would vote against the motion, as "time would solve the difficulty." While Mr. John A. Macdonald again made capital of Mr. Brown's inconsistency in abandoning representation by population, which was made clear by nominating for his committee members of whom a majority were well known to be opposed to representation by population. Therefore, Mr. Brown had really selected a committee favourable only to a federation of the provinces. He said the Government had already done all they could to have this federation adopted. They had solicited the Imperial Government in 1858 for their aid, but their suggestion had not been favourably received. Recent events in the United States had made him still more disinclined to federation, believing that a stronger form of union and government was requisite. He was, therefore, not going to vote for the appointment of a commission to consider whether this was the proper remedy. Upon the division the motion carried by 59 to 48.*

---

*Amongst those voting against the motion were Cartier, Cauchon, Dorion, Galt, Holton, John A. Macdonald, Turcotte, John S. Macdonald and Dunkin.

Chapter 25.

COALITION WITH GEORGE BROWN—1864.

On the 6th of June, the Essex election case came again before the House. The Attorney General West moved a mild resolution, requiring the returning officer, Sheriff McEwen, and his poll clerk, to appear at the Bar of the House, and at the same time expressed his opinion that these officers had failed in the performance of their duty in making no return. The evidence clearly showed that the whole trouble had arisen through animosity of the returning officer to Mr. Rankin, the person entitled to the seat, and a very strong feeling was abroad in the House, that if so gross a failure of duty should be dealt lightly with, it would result in great abuses, and the rights and privileges of all the members were at stake to see that a fitting punishment was awarded to those who had interfered with the due administration of the Election Act. Mr. Scatcherd voiced this sentiment of the members in moving an amendment, that the returning officer had acted wrongfully in not returning Mr. Rankin as member for Essex, and his amendment was carried by a vote of 55 to 49. An enquiry from Sandfield Macdonald, as to what the Government proposed to do in view of the vote, gave rise to an acrimonious discussion, and I was amused at a comment made by Mr. McGee upon Mr. Huntington's remarks, which, like many of his epigrams, was more pointed than delicate, namely, that his speech was like a sermon, of which it was said if the text had the small-pox the discourse would not catch it.

On the 7th, when the Orders of the Day were again called, the Attorney General West having moved that there stand, until next Thursday, an amendment of Mr. McDougall's, that the returning officer had been

guilty of a breach of the privileges of the House in failing to return Mr. Rankin, was carried by a vote of 57 to 55.

On the 13th Mr. Brown reported to the House, from his committee *re constitutional changes,* saying a strong feeling was found to exist amongst the members of the committee in favour of a change to a federal system, and such progress had been made as to warrant the committee in recommending that the subject be again referred to a committee at the next session of Parliament, the only members of the committee voting contra being John A. Macdonald, Sandfield Macdonald and Mr. Scoble. Next day, when the House was moved into a committee of supply, Mr. Dorion moved an amendment that at length brought the precarious house of cards in which they dwelt tumbling down on the ears of the ministry, and clearly proved that, as parties were now constituted, representative government had become impossible in Canada. The amendment censured Mr. Galt, the present Finance Minister, for making, five years before, an unauthorized advance to the Grand Trunk Railway. This amendment carried by a vote of 60 to 58. On the 15th, Mr. John A. Macdonald announced that the situation had been communicated to the Governor, and asked the adjournment of the House without declaring the Government's intentions. The breach between Mr. Sandfield Macdonald and Mr. Brown was seen in the support given to the Attorney General West by the latter when the former refused to comply with this request. Mr. Brown said he thought the Government should have allowed it the fullest opportunity of considering what course to pursue.

Nothing but rumours and further adjournments until the 17th, when the House was electrified by the announcement by John A. Macdonald, that there had been conferences with gentlemen on the other side, that

progress had been made, and he saw the solution of all the difficulties without a dissolution. When he concluded by the words, "I may say the honourable member with whom I have conferred is the honourable member for South Oxford (Mr. Brown)," he was greeted with prolonged cheers. This announcement took every person by surprise, and caused unprecedented excitement amongst the members. There were exclamations of approval, and astonishment everywhere, and the excitement was still further increased when the impulsive member for Montcalm (Mr. Dufresne), who had long been unfriendly to Mr. Brown, arose from his seat, and rushing across the floor, offered his hand to that gentleman, who shook it warmly, his face radiant with smiles of complacency and satisfaction. When the House adjourned, as it at once did, there were cheers and clapping of hands on all sides, and Brown and Dorion were quickly surrounded by other members, some cheering and others laughing, and everybody talking. Astonishment was the predominant feeling of the vast majority. "What does it mean," was the question in everybody's mouth. The Brown men in the House scarcely knew what to make of it, while the anti-Brown members of the Opposition were downcast and apparently mortified. During the debate they had been unable to conceal their chagrin. Sandfield Macdonald was unhappily agitated. McDougall frowned darkly and ominously. The *rouges* professed to be jubilant. "It will ruin Cartier in Lower Canada," they said. "How can he go before his constituencies and say, 'Let us make an alliance with George Brown.' It will be the end of his rule in Lower Canada. To a thoughtful person the occurrences of to-day appear pregnant with results of vastly greater importance than perhaps ever befell Canada. In the first place, it will disrupt the present political parties. In fact members are now

enquiring, "For what side am I," and those desirous of leaving the city are non-plussed on the question of "pairs." Evidently the French supporters of the Government disapprove of it, while the English-speaking members of the eastern townships are more decided in their approval.

On the 20th it was known that an agreement had been come to between Mr. Brown and the Government, to the effect that as the views of Upper Canada could not be met under our present system, the remedy must be sought in the adoption of the federal system, and the following memorandum was signed: "The Government are prepared to state, that immediately after prorogation they will address themsevles, in the most earnest manner, to the negotiations for a confederation of all the British North American provinces. That for the purpose of carrying on negotiations and settling the details of the proposed legislation, a Royal Commission shall be issued, composed of three members of the Government and three members of the Opposition, of whom Mr. Brown shall be one, and the Government pledges itself to give all the influence of the administration to secure to the said commission the means of advancing the great object in view. That, subject to the House permitting the Government to carry through the public business, no dissolution of Parliament shall take place, but the administration shall again meet the present House." The same day it was known Foley and Buchanan would have to leave the ministry. On the 21st Sandfield Macdonald and Dr. Parker were drumming up the malcontents. In the evening a caucus of the ministerial supporters was held in the office of the Attorney General West, when he explained the basis of the arrangement, and the members, by a majority, expressed confidence in the Government, and approval of its programme. The Upper Canada opposition caucus was

held at Kent's Hotel. It was attended by forty members, of whom thirty-four pledged themselves to support the federal platform, but Dorion and Holton, with the Lower Canada *rouges* have pronounced themselves unalterably opposed to it.

What effect the political combination may have upon the fortunes of political parties is one of the questions over which men naturally speculate. The first effect is to bring the two majorities into unison. Upper and Lower Canada shake hands, and promise to sit down quietly and arrange their difficulties. The ministry, which but the day before the hostile vote that produced the combination, depended upon one or two individuals for the breath of life, suddenly becomes numerically strong, having, probably, a majority of half a hundred at its back. No one troubles himself now how Mr. Rankin or Mr. Bell or Mr. O'Halloran votes. Members feel they can leave the House without danger of a ministerial crisis ; they can go home without having to drum up a "pair." Nevertheless, this large ministerial majority is not made up of the most consistent material. Many members find themselves in very awkward positions. There is much to forget, if not to forgive, all around. The situation is scarcely less embarrassing than novel. There is among members of the House a strong undercurrent against the arrangement, but the force of numbers breaks down everything, and prudence makes many a tongue silent.

Many think that one result will be a loss of strength to Mr. Cartier in Lower Canada. It is not difficult to see what point of attack the *rouges* will select; they will try and confound the distinction between representation by population under the legislative union, and the same thing under the vastly different circumstances of federation. The fear of the uncertainty of a much prized autonomy is the most

sensitive part of a French Canadian. Let him once believe, rightly or wrongly, that this is in danger, and he holds every other consideration as secondary. The difficulty which meets the *rouge* in taking advantage of the situation, is the fact that they have always denied that Mr. Brown is a danger to Lower Canada. They have said this a thousand times, and cannot now expect to be credited if they urge the contrary to be the case.

Mr. Brown spoke truly when he said it mattered comparatively little to himself or John A. Macdonald to assent to the recent ministerial changes, but to Mr. Cartier it was a step of serious consequence. Lower Canadians would have short memories if they were all at once to make a truce with Mr. Brown. Whether they will follow Mr. Cartier in his new path is hard to predict. The tone of the French press, so far, indicates that it will be no flowery one for him.

Chapter 26.

MR. BROWN'S EXPLANATIONS.

On the 22nd of June, negotiations for the new coalition Government having been concluded, the result of the deliberations, in detail, are read to the House by Mr. John A. Macdonald, by which it appeared Mr. Brown agreed to enter the Cabinet with two of his friends from Upper Canada, the names not to be submitted until after prorogation. Upon the conclusion of this ministerial explanation, some discussion took place, in which Dorion, Holton and John A. Macdonald took part, and finally Mr. Brown arose to address the House. He appeared almost over-

come by his feelings. His lips twitched nervously, and his voice at first was tremulous and almost inaudible. He said:—

"I would, Mr. Speaker, be practising deception did I conceal from the House what I feel on this occasion. I am well aware of the position I have occupied in this country for many years; that I have stood opposed to hon. gentlemen opposite for ten or twelve years in the most hostile manner. I am well aware, in dealing with the question of the solution of our difficulties, and with the question of men of opposite political opinions going into the same Government, that I have used language and spoken in tones respecting hon. gentlemen in the Government, which, had the agreement just read been signed under such conditions as has been attached usually to political alliances, could not have enabled me to stand here and justify my position before the country. I would deceive the House if I attempted to conceal for a moment that I am fully aware of the painful position I occupy before the country, as being that of one who will probably be spoken of as doing what he did from personal motives and for self-aggrandizement. I am free to confess that had the circumstances under which the country is placed been one whit less important than they are, I should not have approached hon. gentlemen opposite to negotiate with reference to the present difficulties. I have long stated that I was prepared, as far as I was concerned, to join any man, no matter to what party he belonged, with the object of effecting a settlement of those great questions which have so long divided the country. I have been for years connected wih a body of gentlemen from Lower Canada whom I have learned to esteem, who have stood with me through great difficulties, and whose kindness I can never forget, but party alliances are one thing, and the interests of the country an-

other. For my honourable friends, the member for Hochelaga (Mr. Dorion), and Chateauguay (Mr. Holton), I have no terms to express the personal attachment that has existed between me and them. Nothing but a feeling of the urgent necessity of the case, and the manful way in which this question has been taken up by the member for Montreal East (Mr. Cartier), and his colleagues, would have induced me to do that which the members for Chateauguay and Hochelaga could feel was in the slightest degree contrary to the position in which I have stood towards them. I think these hon. gentlemen will acknowledge that I have this justification for my course: that I have for a long period urgently besought them to take up this question in the way in which it is now proposed to deal with it. I hope the course I have felt it my duty to pursue will not entail a weakening of those bonds of personal friendship heretofore existing between the hon. gentlemen and myself. I hope the day will yet come when they will look upon this step as the best that could have been adopted. Can any hon. gentleman think it is any pleasure or joy to me to sit in the Government with hon. gentlemen opposite, and oppose my old friends? Nothing but the strongest sense of duty would ever place me in such a position. I have struggled to avoid entering the Government. I was willing to help them, and I would have remained outside of the Cabinet, and given them all that honest and loyal and hearty aid that any man could give, but they would not consent. I would now say to my friends from Lower Canada: Let us try to rise superior to the pettiness of mere party politics, and take up the question as it should be considered. Wait till a measure is brought down, and if we are to be condemned, let us be so, but, at any rate, give us an opportunity of showing we are honest, and will do our duty to our country.

Were I to say that I do not feel very painfully the position in which I stand to my old friends throughout the country, I would not speak the truth. During the vicissitudes of public life, and while I have been contending with the many difficulties that have beset me, if there was one thing more than another which I have relied on for encouragement, it was the belief that I possessed the sympathies of the honest yeomen of Upper Canada, of whom I feel proud. If there is anything that inspires me with a painful feeling in reference to the present line of conduct, it is the apprehension that these friends will misinterpret my motives. I think I am entitled to the sympathy of hon. gentlemen on my side of the House in my present position. I have no fear, however, as to the result when the measure contemplated is properly understood, or the sincerity of the parties to the negotiations is justly appreciated, for in the long period of twenty years which I have had in public life, I have never found the sound common sense of the people of Upper Canada has been mistaken in the end. If hon. gentlemen ask me how I can enter a Cabinet with only two other members of the Opposition, to whom nine members of the Government will be opposed, I would answer that I would not care if any of my friends accompanied me in the Government, except for the assistance and ability they would bring to the aid of the Government. So perfectly satisfied am I of the honesty and sincerity with which hon. gentlemen opposite have approached this question, so convinced am I that they will carry out their pledges, that I would consent to enter the Cabinet alone if it were necessary, without the additional guarantee of the admission of two of my friends. If I have no other success to boast of during my political career than that which has attended me in bringing about the formation of a Government, with the strength which no other Gov-

ernment has possessed for many years—a Government formed for the purpose of settling the sectional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada, I feel that I have something to be proud of, and that I have accomplished some good for the country. I wish no greater honour for my children, no more noble heirloom to transmit to my descendants, than the record of the part I have taken in this great work."

The final result was immensely gratifying to Mr. McGee. In speaking of it, after our return from the House, he said: Brown has made the greatest exhibition of moral courage I ever knew or read of in political history. Think of a man who, for fifteen years and more, has been supporting representation by population as the only remedy for our constitutional ills, consenting now to set it aside, against the wish of most of his supporters in Upper Canada, and all his friends in Lower Canada. Scarcely a Grit will swallow this without a grimace and a curse at his leader's apostacy. His followers in the House do not disguise their apprehension of the result, but this is not the worst of the situation for him. It is barely two months since Sandfield Macdonald, finding himself too weak to effectively carry on the country's business, approached Cartier and Tache, with the suggestion of a coalition. What did Brown say to this? No language could be made stronger than that made use of in the *Globe*, of which I have a copy. He then read from the issue of April 16th: "If John S. Macdonald, while leader of the Liberal party, and yet in office, had really and truly sent a message to George E. Cartier, that he was prepared to betray his friends, and strike hands with him, the leader of the enemy, he would be the basest traitor to be found on British soil." He has just done what Sandfield Macdonald attempted to do, and his enemies in the opposite camp will not permit him to forget it. Nothing but an ab-

solute belief that his country's existence was at stake, would ever have sufficed to bring a man as high-spirited as Brown to join hands with the very enemy he has so long and so bitterly assailed.

Next to Brown, the man who has taken the greatest risks to his political future by his course in this matter is Cartier. He has some loyal followers in the House who will cling to him whatever the result may be, and the support of the Brown men will make the coalition Government sure of its existence for the balance of its parliamentary life; but if the House had to be dissolved, and Dorion appealed to the prejudices of his fellow-countrymen, I venture to predict that he would come back with a solid French Canadian vote. Before another election is held, confederation will have become a reality in all likelihood, and it will be too late to make capital out of his abandonment of his country's interest. He is shrewd and far-seeing, and has fully calculated upon this before committing himself to his present course. You can depend further upon his pushing this federation scheme with all the strength of his being. He must make it a success or give up his political power forever. He has put his all to the hazard, and nobody knows the fact better than himself. He prides himself upon not following but leading public opinion, and has claimed that this is the highest type of statesmanship. He will have an opportunity of exemplifying his views in this instance. He has the unanimous voice of his people against him, and nothing but complete success will justify his conduct in their eyes.

On the 30th of June, the ministerial readjustments were carried out, and Mr. Brown became President of the Council; Mr. Mowat, Postmaster General, and Mr. McDougall, Provincial Secretary,

in the place of Messrs. Buchanan, Foley and Simpson. The new Government still has at its head the Hon. Sir Etienne Tache.

Chapter 27.

THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE—1864.

During the session of Parliament just described, an invitation was received by the Speakers of the two Houses from the Chambers of Commerce of Halifax and St. John, for the members, to accept their hospitality and visit the Maritime Provinces. Owing to the lateness of the session, it was impossible to take advantage of this at the time, but as soon as the Houses were prorogued, Mr. McGee, on behalf of the assembly, and Mr. Tessier, on behalf of the council, took the matter in hand, and by their exertions an excursion was arranged to leave Portland, by boat, on the 4th of August. Besides the members, invitations were sent to representatives of most of the Canadian papers. It was heartily responded to, and on the day in question, there assembled thirty-three of us from the Legislative Assembly, eighteen from the Legislative Council, and a large number representing the papers of Canada. The weather conditions, when we arrived at Portland, were anything but encouraging. The rain poured in torrents all day, and when we arrived at the wharf, about 5 p.m., which was the hour fixed for our departure, no boat was in sight, and no waiting-room available for our disconsolate crowd. All were wet and miserable, and as the hour went by without any immediate prospect of getting away, a number became so discouraged, they returned to their hotels, and gave up the trip altogether. When the steamer finally put in an appearance, and we got on

board, it was found the berth accommodation only sufficed for three-quarters of our party, and those not active enough in looking after their comforts were compelled to sleep on the bare floor. To their complaints, Mr. McGee said, laughingly: "Besides your transportation, you were only promised your *board.*" At Eastport Maine, Mr. Tilley, Premier of New Brunswick, joined the party. We were most hospitably entertained throughout. Banquets were tendered us at Halifax and St. John, and every effort made to arouse public interest and support for the proposed union of the provinces. We were surprised, however, to find the mass of the people opposed to the scheme, although the prominent public men and citizens gave it a hearty support, with some exceptions.

Some excitement was produced on the day we were billed to sail from St. John to Portland, on our return, by the news that Confederate gunboat, "Tallahassee" was ranging up and down the coast, destroying northern shipping; that she had already sunk twenty-five vessels, and the passengers and crews of merchantmen had been put ashore at Yarmouth, and other points along the Nova Scotia coast. This was a nice state of affairs. She might be right in our track, and waiting outside the harbour to gobble us up as soon as we were at sea. These forebodings, fortunately, proved unnecessary. The trip was made in safety and comfort, Mr. McGee, with his jokes and fun, being the life of the party.

It appearing in the February of this year (1864) that all hopes of an arrangement with Canada was at an end, the legislatures of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island passed resolutions authorizing their respective Governments to enter into negotiations, and hold a convention, for the purpose of effecting a union of the Maritime Provinces. The convention was to meet at Charlottetown, on the

8th of September. Before their sittings were concluded, the convention was notified of the intention of a delegation from Canada to meet it, with the view of discussing the larger question of a union of all the provinces. Proceedings were thereupon adjourned until the delegation could arrive, which it shortly afterwards did, consisting of Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, Galt, McGee, Langevin, McDougall and Campbell. After an earnest and animated discussion, the maritime delegates were so far convinced of the advantages of the larger proposition, that they agreed to drop their present proposal of a maritime union only, and accept the invitation of the Canadian delegates to meet them in Quebec in October. This informal invitation was subsequently followed by one from the Governor General, addressed to all the Lieutenant-Governors, including Newfoundland, to send delegates to meet at Quebec, on the 10th October, to consider the union of all the British North American provinces.

Mr. McGee wrote me, shortly after his return, that the Canadian delegates would require a secretary for their private work, in addition to the official secretary of the convention, and if I would accept the position, he thought the Premier would offer it to me. I did so very willingly, and on the 12th found myself again in the old historic city.

All the members of the Canadian Government were members of the convention, while Nova Scotia was represented by five delegates, New Brunswick by seven, Prince Edward Island by seven, and Newfoundland by two. The maritime party, and their wives and retinue, had been taken on board the Canadian Government steamer "Victoria," at Pictou and Shediac, and though delayed by storms and gales, arrived safely on the 9th, and were put up at the St. Louis Hotel, during their stay, at the expense of the

Canadian Government. Sir Etienne Tache was unanimously chosen chairman of the conference, and Colonel Bernard acting secretary, while the provinvial secretaries of the respective provinces were appointed honorary secretaries of the convention. The conference sat with closed doors for the purpose of secrecy. During the sittings, from time to time, the delegates from each province withdrew, to discuss matters which arose in general conference, but upon which they had not come to any decision amongst themselves, and here my duties were mainly performed, but my position necessarily made me conversant with everything that took place in convention. One and a half days were first occupied in regulating the mode of procedure to be adopted, and all finally concurred in the resolution, that in taking votes on all questions to be decided by the conference, except questions of order, each province or colony, by whatever number of delegates represented, should have but one vote, and that in voting Canada should be considered as two provinces.

On the 11th the conference unanimously concurred in the resolution, that the vast interests and present and future prosperity of British North America would be promoted by a federal union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such union could be effected on principles just to the several provinces.

This evening Her Excellency held a very brilliant Drawing Room in the Council Chamber of the Parliament Building, at which all the leading personages, civil and military, were present.

On the 12th, the motion by Mr. Brown, seconded by Mr. Archibald, was unanimously concurred in, by which it was resolved, "That in the federation of the British North America provinces, the system of government best adapted under existing circum-

stances to protect the diversified interests of the several provinces, and secure efficiency, harmony and permanency in the working of the union, would be a general government, charged with matters of common interest to the whole country; and local governments for each of the Canadas and for the Maritime Provinces, charged with the control of local matters in each of their respective sections, provision being made for the admission into the union, on equitable terms, of the North-West Territories, British Columbia and Vancouver."

The discussion of this resolution occupied a large part of two days, and were it not made clear that Lower Canada would never consent to a legislative union, it appeared to me the sentiment of a majority of the delegates was more favourable to a legislative than a federal union.

The 13th was taken up mainly in a discussion of the frame to be given to the new constitution, and finally it was resolved to take the British constitution as a model for the general government.

On this same day was opened a discussion upon the composition of the legislative council or senate, Mr. Tilley proposing twenty-four for Upper Canada, twenty-four for Lower Canada, and thirty-two for the four Maritime Provinces. This question occupied all the 14th, 15th and 17th, when it was finally resolved that the Legislative Council should consist of twenty-four members from Upper Canada, twenty-four from Lower Canada, ten from Nova Scotia, ten from New Brunswick, four from Prince Edward Island, and four from Newfoundland.

As we were returning to the hotel from the conference, the city was thrown into a state of great excitement by the falling of a large mass of rock from the Citadel, upon Little Champlain Street, destroying three houses, and killing many of the unfortunate

inmates. The streets were soon filled with a sympathetic crowd, who labored all night in attempting to rescue those who had not been crushed to death.

On the 15th the members of the conference were the guests at a banquet given by the Quebec Board of Trade.

On the 18th the resolution was concurred in, of Mr. Macdonald, that the members of the Legislative Council should be British subjects, of the full age of thirty years; that they should possess real property qualifications of four thousand dollars over and above all incumbrances, and be worth that amount over and above their debts and liabilities.

After many motions and amendments, made and negatived or withdrawn, it was finally resolved that the members of the Legislative Council in the federal legislature should be appointed by the Crown at the recommendation of the federal executive Government, upon the nomination of the respective local governments, and that in such nomination due regard should be had to the claims of the members of the Legislative Council and of the Opposition in each province, so that all political parties might be as nearly as possible represented.

On the 19th, Mr. Brown at length had the proud satisfaction of moving a resolution which carried into effect the principle of representation by population, which he had been fighting for in Upper Canada for fifteen years or more. The resolution provided, that the basis of representation in the House of Commons shall be population, as determined by the official census every ten years, and that the number of members at first shall be two hundred, distributed as follows: Upper Canada, eighty-nine; Lower Canada, sixty-five; Nova Scotia, nineteen; New Brunswick, fifteen; Newfoundland, seven; Prince Edward Island, five; and that for the purpose of readjustments, Lower Canada

shall be the unit of population, with sixty-five members. This resolution was vigorously opposed by the Prince Edward Island delegates, who said their province would not go into confederation if this motion was concurred in, as it would have no status whatever. Other members pointed out it had been well understood at Charlottetown that the principle of representation in the popular chamber should be representation by population, and it was idle to raise the question now. The resolution carried, all concurring except Prince Edward Island. Next day the subject was again informally discussed, but the view of the Prince Edward Island delegates was that this clause would preclude their province from joining the Union.

On the morning of the 20th, resolutions were passed for a session of Parliament each year, and limiting the life of Parliament to five years, and providing, that until other provisions were made by Parliament, all laws relating to elections in the various provinces should apply to the members elected for such provinces respectively. Mr. Brown's motion that there should be one Legislative Council Chamber in each local government, after some debate, was withdrawn.

The conference did not assemble this afternoon, but the members visited some of the places of interest in the city, amongst others, Laval University. The same evening a resolution providing for the appointment of lieutenant-governors by the Governor General in Council, to hold office five years, was concurred in.

On the 21st the most important resolution of the conference up to this time was introduced by Mr. Macdonald, determining the powers of the Federal Government, which, with but slight alterations, was adopted.

On the 21st Mr. Galt introduced the financial resolution of the conference, whereby the principal pub-

lic works and property in each province were vested in the Federal Government. It also fixed the public debt of the new confederation at sixty-two millions of dollars, and provided a basis upon which each province should be entitled to annual subventions from the federal treasury.

On the 24th, as if significant of his subsequent position as champion on behalf of the provinces in the great constitutional conflicts with the Federal Government, Mr. Mowat introduced a resolution which defined the powers of the local legislatures. The clauses of this resolution formed the subject of debate, both on this day and the next, when the item of education became the subject of an important amendment from Mr. McGee, which was concurred in, as follows:—

"Saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant and Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools at the time when the constitutional Act goes into operation."

Some of the New Brunswick delegates opposed Mr. Mowat's resolution, which gave the Federal Government all powers not expressly conferred upon the local legislatures, desiring that the provinces should have jurisdiction in all matters not expressly conferred on the Federal Government. The evils which this distribution of powers gave rise to in the United States, leading as it did to a civil war, operated strongly in favour of those who thought the largest measure of authority should be given to the Federal Government.

On the 26th Mr. Galt introduced a resolution, which was concurred in, that in the general legislature the English and French language should be employed.

This concluded the proceedings at Quebec, and on the 27th, the delegates having been invited to visit

the principal cities in Canada, proceeded to Montreal by special train, furnished by the general manager of the Grand Trunk Railway (Mr. Brydges). A short session of the conference was held at the St. Lawrence Hall, when the resolutions adopted separately at Quebec, with some minor amendments, were affirmed, and the report prepared and signed, which was hereinafter spoken of as the Quebec Resolutions, and which formed the basis of the subsequent conference in England, and of the legislation in the various provincial parliaments.

A ball at the St. Lawrence Hall that evening, and a banquet tendered by the city next day, which was presided over by Sir Fenwick Williams, concluded the proceedings in Montreal.

On the 31st the delegates proceeded to Ottawa, by river, and were entertained at the Russell House during their stay. The new Parliament Buildings, now nearly completed, were inspected, and the party entertained at luncheon in the future picture gallery, by the contractors. A ball was given the same evening at the Russell House, and the party left next morning for Toronto, by way of Prescott, receiving addresses at Kingston, Belleville and Cobourg. In Toronto Canadian hospitality was continued, a splendid banquet being given to the visitors at the Queen's Hotel. Here, for the first time, the provision as to secrecy in regard to the proceedings at Quebec, which had, with more or less success, been preserved, although the general features had leaked out, and had been published in the press, was done away with, and in his speech Mr. Brown gave the details of the proposed confederation.

Chapter 28.

THE FIRST SESSION OF 1865.

Parliament having been called to assemble on the 19th of January, the day previous found me once more in Quebec. Once more the abrupt precipices and towering rocks, rolling valleys stretching away for miles on either hand, commanding mountains in the distance, all bearing a white and dazzling mantle of snow; once more the antiquated streets in their winter garments and the vigor of its icy and bracing climate.

It is a matter of extreme difficulty to define the exact position of many members of the House with regard to the Government, and the grand scheme of confederation which it intends to press upon Parliament. It is easy to perceive that there is a strong, lurking hostility, which requires only judicious and skilful handling to develop into a vigorous and effective opposition. The strength of the Government does not exist in the homogeneity of its supporters, but rather in the absence of all organization amongst those who are disposed to resist the scheme in Parliament. It is agreed, however, by those who do not conceal their hostility, that the ministry is composed of such discordant elements that it will be difficult to hold it together. Those who talk in this style appear to be confident that the coalition will break up in consequence of divergence of views on most questions which will come up for dscussion, and that a return to party government cannot be long prevented.

The reply to the Address from the Throne was moved by Mr. Robitaille, and seconded by Colonel Haultain. No time was lost by the Opposition in opening attack upon the new coalition. Dorion's

amendment, that the House neither wish nor seek to create a new nationality, was promptly voted down, upon division, the only Upper Canada members voting for it being Rymal and Wallbridge.

On the 3rd of February, Sir Etienne Tache introduced a resolution in the Legislative Council, that an address be presented to Her Majesty that she be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of uniting the Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island into one Government, with a constitution based upon the provisions of the Quebec Resolutions. On the 6th Mr. John A. Macdonald introduced a similar resolution in the Assembly. The five great speeches for the resolution were made in the following order, and by Mr. John A. Macdonald, Mr. Cartier, Mr. Galt, Mr. Brown and Mr. McGee. As the subject afforded room for much display of eloquence, it is not surprising the speakers, all of whom were practised debaters, proved equal to the occasion, but I do not consider the debate of this session equal in importance to the preceding one, which I have described in so much detail. The result was a foregone conclusion, so long as the union between Mr. Brown and his supporters on the one hand, and the Conservative party on the other, subsisted.

Confederation was not dependent upon the cogency of the arguments now adduced in support of it. Once the coalition Government determined that the Quebec Resolutions must be passed in the exact form in which they had been adopted by the conference, there was really nothing to be done in this Parliament except to put them through. The debate was, so far as results were concerned, largely one of form. No vote was changed; no different result was accom-

plished than would have resulted had the Government, without debate, moved the adoption of the Resolutions.

Perhaps the country would not have been content had there not been a full discussion, and full reports given by the press of all that was said upon the subject. I shall content myself, therefore, with a short account of the matter.

Mr. Brown's speech was characterized mainly by a note of thanksgiving at the result. He could say, so far as he was concerned, all that he had room for in his mind at this moment, was a feeling of rejoicing that his country should have the benefit of this measure, and a just feeling of gladness that men were found at the right moment possessed of firmness and patriotism enough to forget their personal political feelings, and cast aside all prejudices and antipathies.

Mr. Dorion referred to Mr. McGee as having argued in favour of the new nationality, in his paper, the *New Era,* as far back as 1858, and complimented him on the ability with which he had laboured for this object, and upon the success which appeared at length about to crown his efforts; saying, however, that, in his opinion, confederation was only a device of politicians to get out of the difficulty in which they were placed, and not in response to a call from any considerable portion of the people of the country. Mr. McGee disclaimed all credit for himself, but awarded to the despatch of 1859, and Mr. Brown's motion for a committee on *constitutional changes* in the preceding session, the first place for the results which had finally been achieved, and proceeded to say:—

"I will dismiss the antecedent history of the question for the present. It grew from an early and feeble plant to be a stately and flourishing tree, and,

for my part, anyone that pleases may say that he made the tree grow, if I can only have hereafter my fair share of the shelter and shade.

Constitutional government amongst us had reached its lowest point when it existed only by the successful search of a messenger or a page after a member willingly or unwillingly absent from his seat. Anyone in those days might have been the saviour of his country. All he had to do was, when one of the many successive Governments was in danger, to rise and say "yea," and, *presto*, the country was saved. The House was fast losing, under such a state of things, its hold on the country. The administrative departments were becoming disorganized under such frequent changes of chiefs and policies."

After the leaders of the new policy had thus spoken, the Opposition leaders and the rank and file took part in the debate. Holton and Dorion naturally led off in the attack. They both objected, not only to the principle of the Bill, but also to the details, and did not forget to point out that the Reform members of the coalition had thrown over their old principles, as well as their old friends. To this charge Mr. McKenzie said he and others had been accused of deserting their party because they declined to act with gentlemen from Lower Canada with whom they had formerly been allied. There had been no deserting whatever. The fact amounted to this, that when their political friends from Lower Canada declined to act in the matter of settling our sectional difficulties, he, and those who acted with him, could only support those who took up the task. If the Upper Canada Liberals had refused the terms offered to them merely because honourable gentlemen opposite had been for years opposed to them, they would have acted in a most unpatriotic manner, and he, for one, was not prepared to take such responsibility.

Before the debate had proceeded very far, and on the 5th of March, those of the House and country favourable to the Union were paralyzed at the result of the electors in New Brunswick, where all the prominent confederation leaders, Tilley, Fisher and Gray, were defeated, and the government itself shortly afterwards was replaced by one hostile to the Union. Staggering as was this blow, the coalition leaders did not flinch, and Mr. Macdonald at once made a ministerial explanation to the House, in which he said they would persist all the more in pushing forward the scheme ; that this untoward result in New Brunswick made it all the more important that the Quebec Resolutions should as soon as possible receive the assent of the House, to counterbalance in England the ill-effect of the New Brunswick elections. This announcement was followed in a few days by a motion which created intense irritation amongst the Opposition members, who claimed the Government had thereby broken its pledge at the opening of the House, when it promised that the fullest opportunity for discussion of the Bill should be given. The resolution offered by Mr. Cartier was, *that the motion be now put,* to which, according to parliamentary procedure, no amendment could be offered. Holton characterized the conduct of the Government as a base trick, and turning his attention to his quandom friend, Mr. Brown, said he had abandoned those Liberals with whom he had acted for years, and observed that the honourable the Attorney General West had, by his superior strategy, drawn him into the Cabinet, and turned him to advantage for his own purposes. It has been said, he remarked, that the political wayside is strewn with the gravestones of the former supporters of the honourable the Attorney General West, by connection with whom they have all been sacrificed. I can see in the future

a grave yawning for the noblest victim of them all; for him who has advocated for years the rights of the people of Upper Canada, and the liberties of the country in this House.

It was quite apparent, in his reply, that Mr. Brown felt keenly these charges of disloyalty made against him, but this was the cross he took up, when his sense of public duty led him to make an alliance with the enemies of a lifetime, and he had much more criticism to bear, as we shall see in the next session. Occasionally the debate was illuminated by flashes of wit or repartee. When Mr. Dorion presented some four petitions against confederation, McGee pointed out that many of the signatures consisted simply of a cross, and might easily prove fictitious. To this Holton said, "Who send us here, but the men who sign crosses?" Mr. McGee replied, "Well, I must say that they inflicted a cross upon this House when they sent to it the honourable member for Chateauguay." On the 10th of March the main motion passed, on a vote of ninety-one to thirty-three, of whom only eight of the opposition were from Upper Canada.

Chapter 29.

SECOND SESSION OF 1865.

Shortly after the House adjourned, matters began to look as serious for confederation in Nova Scotia as it already was in New Brunswick. During the winter, Dr. Tupper and Mr. Archibald, respectively the leaders of the Conservative and Reform party in that province, and who, with their friends, formed the majority of the House, held joint meetings throughout the province in favour of the union,

but before long it was abundantly plain that the feeling of the great mass of the people in that province was quite as strongly against the union as in New Brunswick. On the 23rd of March, so strong was this, that the Government led by Dr. Tupper was compelled to introduce the following resolution:—

"Whereas, under existing circumstances, an immediate union of the British North American provinces has become impracticable, and whereas, a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces is desirable, whether the larger union is accomplished or not; resolved, that in the opinion of this House the negotiations for the union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island should be renewed, in accordance with the resolutions passed at the last session of the House."

Within a few weeks thereafter, the Prince Edward Island elections were held, when again the unionists were overwhelmingly defeated, all the leading members of the Quebec conference being numbered amongst the fallen. In the new House, only five out of twenty-eight members favourable to confederation were returned.

By the middle of May, it may safely be said, that in the opinion of nearly every one in Canada, the union of the provinces was deemed at an end for many long years to come.

Interest in the subject revived in September, when, upon an invitation from the Upper Province, a large maritime delegation visited our country. The Western Fair at London was being held at this time, and on the 21st, the delegates visited our city, and were given a splendid banquet, at which Mr. McDougall, the Provincial Secretary, addressed them on behalf of the Government. They were much impressed by the agricultural resources of our western counties, and by the immense display of produce and machin-

ery, and more than all, at the crowds that were present, about seventeen thousand people on the day of their visit.

On the 8th of August, the House again assembled at Quebec. The Opposition was now led by Holton and Dorion from Lower Canada, and John S. Macdonald, M. C. Cameron and John H. Cameron from Upper Canada. The tediousness of the discussion was broken on the 24th of August by an exhibition of Mr. McGee's inimitable debating power, wherein fine thrusts have more effect than laboured eloquence. The House was in supply. Mr. Holton had sarcastically inquired what the Government had accomplished during the recess, to which he replied: "The member for Chateauguay has never, during all this great debate, really discussed the question of policy before the House; he has never spoken upon the principle of confederation. He rose at page 17 of the confederation debates, and sat down for the last time at page 1021. He was up after every public speaker during that lengthy discussion. He spoke four times as often as the very honourable and long-winded member for Brome (Mr. Dunkin) —who spoke two days—and, after all, never spoke upon the question or delivered himself for or against confederation. He objected that this thing was wrong and that thing awry; that this thing had a squint and the other thing was a-gee. He never said he was opposed to the union, nor discussed the merits of the case from the beginning to the end of the session, and never will, I am sure. He is always bugling here a little and there a little, and ought, like the old housekeeper, to keep a trash bag by his side for these scraps and fragments with which he loves to amuse himself. He complains that nothing has been done, but how can he talk about the Government doing nothing, when he himself, in the late Govern-

ment, as Finance Minister, lay-in of a budget six weeks and brought forth absolutely nothing."

Mr. Brown and his Reform following, it has been said, joined hands with our people for one purpose only, and the incongruities arising from so anomalous a situation did not develop to any great extent so long as the coalition Government was concerned with matters directly relating to the subject of confederation, but as this second session progressed, and it became necessary to transact other public business, to make provision for the necessary expenditures, and adopt a financial policy, the Reform members of the Government found themselves more and more deeply entangled in the toils, from which there seemed no hope of escape, except by a mad rush, which would shatter, not only the Government, but the scheme of confederation. Outnumbered three to one in the Cabinet, they were compelled to adopt measures ,and support proceedings, which were diametrically opposed to their own views, and inconsistent with their political past. It was more than could be expected of human nature to hope that Mr. Brown's allies should not taunt him upon such occasions with his recusancy to the great principles for which he had struggled all his political life.

On the 7th of September, in supply, an item of a grant to the Trinity College of Toronto, a sectarian school, Mr. Holton said he knew before the honourable President of the Council (Mr. Brown) left his seat previous to entering the ministry, that he had not abandoned his position as a determined opponent of sectarian grants, but the first thing he does after getting into office is to ask a grant for Trinity College, a sectarian institution, opposed to the Provincial University of Upper Canada, and hoped the honourable gentleman would afford some explanation. To this Mr. Brown replied, with much agitation: "I do

not hesitate to say, that if I were in a party Government, I would not consent to occupy a place in it if I did not have my views carried out. But I am here for a particular purpose, and if the honourable member for Chateauguay fancies he is going to induce me to play into his hands, as an opponent of these great constitutional changes which the country desires, then all I can say is, that he is very much mistaken, indeed. I am in the Government for the purpose of carrying out a great object, and it would be absurd on my part if I had not made up my mind to sustain and repel such attacks as those which have been made upon me to-day. I expected such assaults, and I am prepared to defend myself. The honourable gentleman need not fear he can embarrass us; we are willing to make sacrifices to attain without delay a great and desirable end. The vast change we contemplate will, I repeat, far outshadow all such considerations as these, and I have no fear whatever but that my friends in the country will justify and appreciate my conduct. Had I differed with my colleagues, and demanded the adoption of my views upon the subject of sectarian schools, I would have had to retire from the Cabinet. And if I had, when might we have expected to obtain these great reforms, by which the present and other abuses of which we complained will be swept away. I contend that the Reform party, in joining this ministry, has done the best thing possible for the country. Do the honourable gentlemen opposite think it was a pleasant year I have passed since I entered the administration? Do they think it was anything but a feeling of patriotism that would ever have induced me to take such a position, involving such personal inconvenience and sacrifice?" (Ironical cheers from the Opposition.)

John S. Macdonald now continued the attack upon Mr. Brown, which was evidently premeditated,

and justified his action in recommending Mr. Brown to join the coalition Government, by the reason that he thought thereby it would prove Mr. Brown's political destruction. As this despicable admission was made, one could see the member for Lambton's lips tighten, and soon he was on his feet, dealing sledge-hammer blows at the member for Cornwall. Referring to the Liberal caucus, at which Mr. Brown, in 1864, had been unanimously requested to join the Government, he said: "Every member of the Liberal party from the Upper Province was present at that caucus, except one; all but three voted, and no one was more active than the honourable member for Cornwall in securing the adoption of the resolution requesting Mr. Brown to join the Government. Either that honourable gentleman went to the meeting with the honest objects of a member of the party, or as a spy. He then pretended to act as a loyal member of the party, and as such must be held responsible. At that time it was perfectly clear to all of us that it was impossible to proceed as we were doing for years, during which the various Governments had struggled to carry on public business with only one or two of a majority, and we all felt that some change must be made. Under the circumstances, the Liberal party met in caucus, and the matter was fairly, clearly and deliberately discussed, and on no occasion did the member for Cornwall indicate any want of faith in the leader of the Liberal party. After all that, the honourable gentleman comes forward and tells us he had but one object in his course, and that was to destroy the President of the Council and the party attached to him. There is but one character known to history that could have been guilty of such an act; nothing more scandalous or unprecedented was ever known, and the honourable gentleman will find himself greatly mistaken if he thinks by this shameless avowal to

affect in any way the position of the President of the Council in the minds of his friends in the West."

In December of this year (1865), Mr. Brown sent in his resignation as a member of the Government. In the ministerial explanation given in the House by Mr. John A. Macdonald, in the June following, the reason assigned was a difference of opinion between Mr. Brown and the rest of the Government as to the best mode of renewing, conducting and continuing negotiations with the United States for a reciprocity treaty, then expiring.

Mr. Brown, in his public explanation at the same time, said he had entered the Government with great reluctance, and was willing still to give it a hearty support in carrying out the confederation measure. That when he was in the Maritime Provinces upon official business, he discovered in the papers that, in his absence, Mr. Galt and Mr. Howland were in Washington negotiating a treaty, when they had no authority so to do. That in handing in his resignation to His Excellency, the latter had received him with great kindness, and, after explanations, had said, "Then, Mr. Brown, I am called upon to decide between your policy and that of the other members of the Government," to which he replied, "If I am allowed to give a voice in the matter, I should say the Government ought to be sustained, though the decision is against myself. I consider the question of confederation as of far higher consequence to this country than any reciprocity negotiations."

It would appear clear that this incident alone would not have caused Mr. Brown's resignation, were it not, in his opinion, a culmination of a series of acts of similar character, in which his views were constantly ignored. This appears from the statement made by Mr. McKenzie in the House the next year, when he said he had been asked to join the Govern-

ment as a third member of the Reform party, and after consulting with Mr. Brown, he refused, as he found that this transaction was but the concluding act of a long contention, and that personal animosity had had a very great deal to do with it. Additional corroboration is found in the fact, that when, in the session following, Mr. Galt resigned on account of the Government dropping the Lower Canadian Protestant Minority Education Bill, Mr. Brown said that Mr. Galt's action was highly creditable, and that he had no doubt he acted from high and conscientious motives. Clearly his animosity towards Mr. Galt was not of such an extreme and bitter character that it alone would have operated to induce him to leave the coalition Government.

When two men, with natures so radically different as were those of Mr. Brown and Mr. Macdonald, have stood opposed for more than a quarter of a century, we cannot hope to see them doing justice to one another. Indeed, they have become incapable of appreciating each other's motives and good qualities. This probably accounts for Mr. Macdonald's remarks, at a banquet in Montreal, more than ten years later, when he said that Brown joined his Government in 1864 by a sense of fear for the consequences resulting from his unwise and factious course, and that his patriotism was but "*momentary in its nature,* and *was soon repented of.*" A course of action, beginning in October, 1863, when he introduced his resolution *re constitutional changes,* which he caused to be carried in the House in the June following, against the votes of Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Cartier; which resulted in his alliance with his life-long political enemies for the purpose of bringing about the union of the provinces, and which induced him to remain in such alliance for eighteen months, although admittedly under circumstances which were gall and worm-

wood to a high-spirited man, and who, when he retired, agreed to give his old allies his support on confederation matters, and did so even when opposing his old friends Dorion and Holton, not only during the session of 1866, but afterwards, even to the extent of exerting all his influence to counteract the effect of their memorial to the Imperial Government against confederation, and continued this support without halt or hesitation, both by voice and pen, and by the great influence of his paper, right up to the final passage of the Bill by the English Parliament, such a support cannot, I think, with any fairness, be described as *momentary in its nature*, nor can it be said to have been *soon repented of*.

Chapter 30.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES.

1866.—All eyes in Canada are now turned towards the Maritime Provinces. It is felt the hopes of a union of the colonies is dependent upon the strength of the sentiment amongst our brethren by the sea.

Events here marched fast. The Government of New Brunswick declined in popularity as rapidly as was its accession to power. Amongst other things, its appointments were injudicious and unpopular. Moreover, the people had been taught that confederation meant pecuniary ruin, but the mists of prejudice were rapidly dispelled. Then, finally, the failure of the reciprocity negotiations with the United States convinced the commercial classes that no alternative was now left except a union with the other provinces.

Appreciating the change in public sentiment, Mr. Wilmot resigned from the ministry, but his resignation was not accepted by the governor, who, under instructions from England, was urging on confederation with all his might, and made every effort to induce his ministry to submit the question to the legislature. The majority of his advisors, however, were averse to his proposal. A ministerial crisis soon developed itself, and a new election began to be rumored. The union sentiment was somewhat strengthened in March by the adoption of the Quebec Resolutions by the Newfoundland legislature, by eighteen to six. The next stage was the defeat of the New Brunswick Government in the legislative council, when an amendment to the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was carried, which declared the legislature to be fully convinced that a union of the British North American colonies would strengthen the ties which bound them to the mother country, and would be consistent with the best interests and prosperity of the provinces. Notwithstanding this crushing defeat, the Government refused to change its policy, and being sustained in its course in the popular Chamber, a deadlock between the two houses resulted. At length, in the Lower House, on the 10th of April, the Premier announced the resignation of the ministry. Mr. Wilmot was sent for by the Governor, and intrusted with the formation of a new Government, which was shortly accomplished. Mitchell, Tilley, Fisher and Williston, along with himself, being sworn in as privy councillors, and formed another coalition of parties for the purpose of carrying confederation, Messrs. Tilley, Mitchell and Fisher being the Liberal members of the new Government. The House was at once prorogued, to permit of the new ministers going before their constituents for re-election. Their return having indicated a revolution

in popular sentiment, the House was at once dissolved, and writs issued for a new election, which was held early in June, when the confederates were returned thirty-three in number, against eight of the opposition.

While this was the condition of affairs in New Brunswick, in the sister province of Nova Scotia there was the same opposition to confederation amongst the people, except in the cities and towns. This feeling had been stimulated and strengthened by the attitude the year before of New Brunswick. Yet there was some sign of hope in the fact that all the leading men, the divines and most of the newspaper men were in favour of the union. The failure of the reciprocity negotiations contributed to the same end. Nevertheless, popular sentiment was so little aroused in its support, that Dr. Tupper did not deem it prudent to make any reference, in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the legislature in February, to the subject of confederation. Early in the session he brought down the correspondence with the mother country relating to a strictly maritime union, a resolution approving which had been adopted at the last session, and in this correspondence the Colonial Secretary said, that while having no objections to a union of the Maritime Provinces, yet, the Home Government was so committed to the larger scheme of federation with Canada, that they could not entertain the lower project, except as subordinate to confederation.

In discussing the question, Dr. Tupper said the Government of Nova Scotia could do nothing towards confederation so long as New Brunswick held out, but if New Brunswick gave way, this province would likely follow. In response to an enquiry, whether the Government would take the voice of the people on the subject, upon which they never had an

opportunity to express an opinion, the Attorney General refused to commit himself, simply saying the Government had no policy in the matter, and would not announce any until the occasion arose which required them to decide the question. Towards the end of April, resolutions were carried through both Houses by good majorities, not, as in Canada, adopting the Quebec Resolutions, but affirming the desirability of confederation, and appointing delegates to England; but subject always to the proviso, that the union to be accomplished should effectually insure just provisions for the rights and interests of the province. Whether obliquy or glory should be attached to the conduct of the majority of the House in carrying through a resolution approving of a union without consulting the electorate, neither political party holds a better position than the other. The old political parties were entirely disorganized on the subject of confederation. We find Dr. Tupper, the Government leader, and Mr. Archibald, the leader of the Opposition, approving of confederation, and each drawing support from his own side of the House; while a minority, equally drawn from both sides, was very active and outspoken in its opposition. In fact, enough of the circumstances have already been disclosed to show conclusively that the great scheme of confederation was only carried in all of the provinces interested by the joining of hands for that express purpose by members drawn from both political parties.

The Government of Nova Scotia, having become committed to the support of the union scheme, a campaign set in that, for vigor and determination, has not been surpassed in that or any other country.

The leader of the anti-confederates was now the Hon. Joseph Howe, the Nestor of the Reform party in this province, a man so beloved by his people that

even, at this time, his name cannot be mentioned without tears, to the men of his day, who were the followers of his political fortunes. Mr. Howe was now in the neighbourhood of seventy years of age. He had been identified with the long struggle for representative government in his province, and had carried his banner to the same victory that Baldwin and Lafontaine had in Canada. He had been defeated in Cumberland County by Dr. Tupper in 1855, but was returned to power five years later. In 1863 he was again defeated, and during the next few years was out of political life, by reason of his having accepted a public office as Fishery Commissioner.

I had heard Mr. Howe advocate a federal union in 1861, at Port Robinson, and his writings and speeches contained many similar expressions of opinion. But whether his antagonism to Dr. Tupper somewhat warped his vision, as personal antagonisms frequently do, all unconsciously to the subject, I do not know, but the fact remains, in May, 1866, he came out as the most uncompromising opponent of federation. He issued a manifesto to the people of his province, reviewing the earlier stages of the federation scheme, claiming that at the Intercolonial Conference at Quebec, in 1862, Archibald, McCully, McGee and himself had come to the conclusion, that it was premature to discuss the subject until after the Intercolonial Railway was built, free trade between the several provinces established, and the people drawn into some kind of accord, by social and commercial intercourse.

Following this up, the anti-members of the legislature prepared and signed a memorial to Her Majesty the Queen, setting out reasons for the Imperial Government not complying with the resolution passed by the legislature.

The great and chief point of attack was, that the Government and Dr. Tupper had acted treacherously towards the people in pushing through the matter without consulting the electorate. Mr. Howe began his campaign at Yarmouth with immense enthusiasm, which never suffered diminution, but constantly gathered strength, until, with the force and velocity of an avalanche, when the election of 1867 arrived, the confederates were overwhelmed with destruction, the sole survivor of the cataclysm being the worthy doctor himself.

Much occurred, however, in the meantime. Mr. Howe's idea was to create so great a demonstration against the union that Sir Fenwick Williams, the lieutenant-governor, should be compelled to dismiss his ministers, and Mr. Howe, being called upon to form a Government, might have the opportunity of appealing to the people. The Governor, however, was too closely in sympathy with the present Government, and under instructions too specific from the Imperial Government, to lend himself to any such suggestion. In his speeches Mr. Howe attacked the federal scheme because it would lead, he claimed, to annexation to the United States, would destroy their provincial legislature, destroy their liberties, and confiscate their revenues for the benefit of Canada. In one of his pamphlets he said, Canadian domination would be as distasteful as Austrian domination was to Switzerland, and if established over the people without their sanction, the Gessler from the St. Lawrence might occasionally hear the crack of a rifle, and be reminded that men think of their bullets when their franchises are denied.

Reviewing the situation at this day, it cannot be denied, I think, that, constitutionally, the people of Nova Scotia were entitled to be heard directly upon a question so vital to their welfare, and upon which

they never had an opportunity to express an opinion, unless it be argued that the end justifies the means. In all probability confederation would have been delayed for a little time, but it would ultimately have come, and with it a people voluntarily rallying around the new nationality, as in New Brunswick, instead of being dragged in against their will, and proving a thorn in the side of the new commonwealth. For years thereafter, indeed to this day, the bitterness was not entirely allayed, and they tell me in that province the only distinguishing mark known politically to the older generation, is that of confederate or anti-confederate.

It is not a fair analogy to point to Canada where confederation was carried by the legislature alone, because the sentiment of Upper Canada on the question of representation by population was known for years, and had been tested at many an election, and there was no such universal feeling against it in Lower Canada as existed in Nova Scotia. This was shown by the support given to Mr. Cartier in the same elections in 1867, when he was returned with a stronger following than Mr. Dorion, although the latter was all along the champion of provincial rights and the opponent of the federal union.

Chapter 31.

FENIANISM.

The year 1866 was marked especially, in the annals of our country, by an incursion of Fenians from the United States, and it is necessary that I should now deal with this movement in its relation to Canada. From 1864 to 1868, Fenianism was a lively

subject of discussion, and became a most dangerous evil, to be dealt with by the Government. I have mentioned already some remarks made by Mr. McGee, in the spring of 1864, concerning the organization, when its ramifications in Canada were little suspected, even by men so likely to have information as Mr. McGee.

As late as November, 1865, in a speech at Montreal, he stated that not one in a thousand of the Irish in Canada were in any way sympathizers with Fenianism. He was greatly deceived, as he afterwards frankly admitted, for at this very time the country was honeycombed with their secret circles. The founder of this movement was Colonel O'Mahoney, an educated Irishman, who had now been living in the United States for a number of years. He said himself, in a speech at Boston, the success of the brotherhood was the result of toilsome, painful and silent work for seven long years. The order started with a few hundred members, but by 1865 extended over the length and breadth of the land. The object of the brotherhood was to establish an Irish republic by the sword. As O'Mahoney about this time expressed it: "Ours is the only policy that can right the wrongs of Ireland. The days of peaceful agitation, of petitioning and parliamentary humbug is past forever in Ireland. The sword alone can win the liberty of that green isle. Away then with all associations that do not propose to win Irish liberty by the stalwart arms of Irishmen."

He then proceeded to arouse the enthusiasm of his hearers by saying: "The work is pressing, we cannot wait. We must co-operate with the Fenian army in Ireland. We must do it at once or the work of redemption will be lost. The hour of sentiment is passed, the time for work has come. Ireland is in her agony, her life blood is flowing from every vein."

O'Mahoney's headquarters were in New York, where he lived in luxurious style. A reporter who interviewed him was introduced into a parlor in which he and his chief assistant Killien were seated, and found the floor covered with the richest carpets, sofas, divans and easy chairs, upholstered in green and gold. The room had desks of ebony and mahogany. The folding doors were elegantly carved, and the windows had stained glass. Some years later, when deposed, and his accounts audited, this regal residence was found to have run away with one hundred and four thousand dollars out of the one hundred and eighty-five thousand beguiled by him out of his poor, ignorant, but generous-hearted fellow-countrymen.

The Fenian organization consisted of state, district and local bodies, called circles, each of which had a presiding officer called the Centre. At the zenith of its influence, the brotherhood numbered six hundred and thirteen circles on this continent, of which eighty were in Canada. During this year—1865—the Irish republic on the American continent was formed at a convention held at Pittsburg. It was also provided at the same time that the new organization should hold a convention of the representatives from the circles from time to time, and in addition to the lower and representative chamber, there was provided another chamber, called the senate, to which body certain members were then appointed; the whole institution being modelled upon the American Congress, except that the republic had its only existence on paper.

Many of the Irish societies in Canada were hotbeds of fenianism, although ostensibly doing benevolent and charitable work. The head centre here was one Michael Murphy, president of the Hibernian Benevolent Society of Toronto, in which city the Fenians, in 1864, were in greater numbers than else-

where in Canada, but in a few years Montreal was still more deeply permeated with the leaven of treason than Toronto. The extent and power of the order was not thoroughly appreciated in Canada until November 5th, 1864, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot in England, which was the occasion of a small Orange demonstration in Toronto. Late in the evening a rumour had spread that they proposed to celebrate the discovery of the popish plot by burning the Pope and O'Connell in effigy ,and soon Fenians began to assemble in Queen's Park, armed with guns, swords and revolvers, to the number of four hundred. When assembled, one who acted as captain, ordered the men to fall into four companies, which they did with military precision, and each company having thrown out a skirmishing line, they moved to different parts of the city. About midnight these scouts were called in, and the companies having reassembled, marched through the city, and finally the men separated to their homes. Naturally the city was seething with excitement next day. A search warrant disclosed a large supply of pike heads, secreted in a tavern kept by one Maguire ,on Queen Street. Evidences of other supplies of arms were found throughout the city, although made away with before the police were able to seize them.

Charges having been made against the Hibernian Society of being a Fenian organization, Murphy wrote to the press denying this to be the case, but boldly expressed the sympathy of his order for the Fenian or any other society having for its object the freedom and prosperity of the Irish people on Irish soil. Later on, we find Murphy travelling through Canada, establishing branches of the Hibernian Society, and, amongst others, an important lodge was organized at Ottawa, which subsequently obtained a notorious and bloody pre-eminence in the annals of the order. In

1866, Murphy threw off all disguise, and in attempting to cross the lines at Cornwall, with others traitors, was arrested, and a large number of incriminating documents found in his possession ; but before the prisoners could be brought to trial, they escaped, with the outside assistance of their friends, and went to Buffalo, where they openly joined the Fenian brotherhood. When the secrets of the Head Centre were subsequently brought to light, we find amongst the items of money received during the fall of 1865, from Canada, as follows:—

Montreal, Canada—Part of first call.....	$ 92 72
" " Balance of first call....	202 85
Toronto, Canada—First call	500 00
Quebec—Dues	104 75
And subsequently received from Mr. Murphy, Toronto, Canada	300 00

The hatred which this scoundrel and his associates bore towards Mr. McGee will be disclosed a little later, when we have to deal with the latter's Wexford speech.

Although the fire smouldered in secret in Canada, where the members of the order were liable to punishment for treason, in the United States the workings of the order were not the subject of much concealment. On the 28th of November, in a speech made by the Centre of a New York lodge, one McDermitt, who participated in a meeting in the Queen's Park, on the 5th, he claimed there was a great deal of concealed disloyalty in Canada, and said he would not fear to be one of five thousand to cross the river, for throughout all the country, with that display of force, the people would rise *en masse,* and cry for annexation to the United States. He claimed to have talked the rankest treason in Toronto for several hours, and said the

authorities were afraid to interfere, knowing there were eight hundred armed men ready and willing to defend him. He also assured his hearers that he had an interview with Archbishop Lynch, who expressed himself as highly favourable to their cause. It was lying statements such as these that helped to gull the Irish American. No such interview ever took place with Archbishop Lynch, and although the matter was contradicted in the Canadian papers, the chances are such contradiction never reached the persons who heard the first story, and may have thought the Catholic clergy in Canada were befriending the movement. Throughout the fall of 1864, and the winter of 1865, the Fenian agitation in the United States became more and more prominent. A general convention of the brotherhood was held in Cincinnati, on the 26th of January, at which O'Mahoney presided, and which was attended by seventeen hundred delegates from all parts of the Union and Canada. A military organization committee was appointed, and Brigadier General McGroarty, of the United States volunteers, appointed its chairman. In the course of his address, he said Canadians had made fools of themselves in fearing a raid; that they were not organized to create a revolution in Canada; their objects related to Ireland alone.

There is no doubt the popular chamber of the paper republic, consisting as it did of delegates from Circles, almost all of which had been organized by O'Mahoney, approved of his views, and opposed anything in the nature of a raid upon Canadian soil. But the upper chamber or senate was composed of members holding entirely different views. The leaders of this section were Colonel Sweeny and Colonel Roberts, and they claimed to be, as indeed they were, leaders of an advance party which disapproved of O'Mahoney's methods, and advocated bringing mat-

ters to a crisis at once, by attacking England through her American colonies. From first to last, it must be borne in mind, the Catholic Church in Canada, the United States and Ireland, opposed with all its strength the Fenian organization, but during the years 1865 and 1866, the movement got beyond its control.

This was the condition of affairs in May, 1865, when Mr. McGee, who was attending the great Dublin International Exhibition as Canadian Commissioner, took advantage of the occasion to visit his old home in Wexford, and addressed an Irish audience upon the subject, "Twenty years' experience of Irish life in America." In his remarks many home thrusts were uttered that stung the Fenians to madness, and from this time onward he was the mark for all their venom and rage. Amongst other things, he said:

"In the United States there is no more sympathy for Ireland than for Japan, and far less than for Russia. In New England, the people, tinctured with puritanism, proud of their property and of their education, hate the Irish emigrant for his creed; despise him for his poverty, and underrate him for his want of book learning. The Irish emigrants in America have become rapidly demoralized. If they prosper, they mistake insolence for independence, and blasphemy for freedom of speech. A large proportion, however, do not prosper, but go to destitution, and it would be better, when they are about to embark, that the earth should swallow many an ingenuous youth and modest maiden, than that they should be what they are, in the streets and prisons of the United States. In Canada the Irish are morally and socially in a better position. Our countrymen exceed one-half a million, or one-eighth of the whole population. They are not one-tenth as numerous as in the United States, but I venture to say, the one-half a million yield a

larger aggregate of sterling worth, character and influence than the millions of our demoralized countrymen across the line put together."

This speech created a sensation in Canada, as well as in the United States, amongst the Irish people. In the city of Montreal, a disclaimer was signed and published by six hundred of his constituents, which said that his reflections upon the Irish in America were unhandsome, ungenerous and unjust. But we will see later on what were the forces behind the publication of this disclaimer.

Much more vigorous was the criticism of the Head Centre, Mike Murphy, at the Hibernian Society pic-nic at Niagara Falls. He said:—

"The Irish are grateful, and never will they forget those who loved Ireland and suffered for her wrongs, but he who basely deserts the old cause in its most trying necessity seldom fails to receive at their hands the treatment bestowed upon Judases and Goulas, of past and present times. If Mr. McGee had remained true to the principles of his younger days, he would to-day undoubtedly be the foremost man in Canada, loved and respected by every true Irishman."

Whereupon three groans were given for the traitor McGee.

Mr. McGee returned from Ireland in July, 1865, and received an enthusiastic reception from his friends in Montreal. To them he said he had purposely delivered his Wexford speech from manuscript, and had spoken plainly because he felt it necessary to open the eyes of the Irish people, and dispel the glamour which interested demagogues had thrown over the condition of their fellow-countrymen in the United States. He followed this up, shortly after his return, by an open letter to an Irishman, who wrote to him for advice, in which he said: "As to the policy of Old England to-

wards Ireland, we claim to reserve our opinion; but as to British America, our home, we have very pointed convictions of duty and loyalty. We believe there is not a freer country under the sun, and we ought to stick up for it, come weal come woe. Anyone under the garb of an Irishman who purposes to advocate disaffection or disloyalty here, is our enemy, and we shall take every fair means of putting him down."

Later on, in the same year, at a banquet given in his honour in Montreal, he spoke with the greatest derision of the farcical Irish republic on Manhattan Island, with President O'Mahoney, the escaped lunatic, as chief magistrate, and its senate, composed of a shoemaker from Massachusetts; a dealer in second-hand goods from New York; a plumber from Rhode Island; a candy dealer from Illinois, and such like men from other States. Rising in a loftier flight, he said: "Many of my friends complain that in my Wexford speech I ought to have diluted my address with some strictures on the Irish grievances, which badly call for redress. I recognize these grievances as well as they do. I will go as far as any man in a constitutional effort to obtain redress. I will resign, if necessary, my place in the ministry, so as to move a resolution in Parliament along this line. God knows, the Ireland I loved in my youth is near and dear to my heart. She was a fair and radiant vision, full of the holy self-sacrifice of the older time, but this Billingsgate Beldame, reeling and disheveled, from the purlieus of New York, with blasphemy on her lips, and all uncleanliness in her breast, this shameless imposter I resist with scorn and detestation."

Chapter 32.

FENIANISM CONTINUED.

During the fall of 1865, the Fenian rising in Ireland was nipped in the bud by the English Government, and the leaders who were not arrested fled from the country. Stephens, the Irish Head Centre, and O'Donovan Rossa, the representative of the Irish in America, carrying much American money and letters from O'Mahoney, were amongst those imprisoned in Dublin. In October a Fenian convention was held in Philadelphia, which was largely attended by delegates from all over the Union, as well as from Canada, when the Canadian delegates presented the meeting with an Irish banner, amidst much enthusiasm.

About this time also a complete split took place between the representative assembly of the Irish republic and the senate. The latter assumed to depose O'Mahoney from his position as Head Centre for malfeasance in office, accusing him of illegally issuing and disposing of sixty-five thousand dollars of bonds of the republic, without the approval or knowledge of the senate. O'Mahoney replied by a counterblast, excluding the senators from their positions.

When the next congress was held, in January, 1866, the Circles, by a majority of five hundred to one hundred, supported O'Mahoney, and solemnly deposed Colonel Roberts from the presidency, to which he had been elected by the senate. This split was never healed, a large section always being opposed to a raid upon Canada. An active propaganda, however, now was carried on by the advanced party, under Colonels Sweeney and Roberts; they said: "Let us move on the frontiers, the Government of Canada is imbecile. Ottawa, the capital city, can be easily taken by a handful of Fenians, who could throw up works and hold

it against any force the Canadian Government can or is prepared to send, until reinforced. What a thrilling effect such an achievement would have throughout Europe. We must now accept the gage of battle. We must go to Canada and fight it out there. The war has commenced in Ireland ; the Fenians must follow it up here, and hit England hard in a tender spot."

Early in the new year, Colonel Sweeney, at the head of his war department, issued a circular, calling for prompt military organization, and promising active and efficient work instead of words. He and Colonel Roberts made a tour through the Northern States, addressing immense crowds, at such cities as Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago. In all these places they asked for contributions, and pledged an early campaign in Canada.

The Fenian organs also announced that a federal officer had volunteered to lead the army of invasion; that the time for action had now arrived, and all that was required was that sufficient arms be placed in the hands of the thousands ready to take their place in the field; that the men in the movement were determined to fight, and if the millions of their race in the United States would now prove steadfast and true to the cause, the fight would result in a glorious victory; that speedy and effective action was now the purpose of the Fenian brotherhood, and that all that was wanting were the implements of warfare.

At Chicago Sweeney said: "We have strength, resources and opportunity now beyond anything that has ever blessed the hopes of Irishmen before. Considerable purchases of arms have been made, at a low rate, under sanction of the Senate. Before the summer's sun kisses the hill tops of old Ireland, a territory will have been conquered on which the green flag, the sunburst of old Ireland, shall float in triumph,

and a base be formed for some glorious operations there." Roberts said, at the same meeting: "When we have once that territory (Canada), we will have to be recognized by foreign nations. We can issue letters of marque, and our sailors will not be hung as pirates, but treated as prisoners of war. This will be a fatal blow to England's greatness. Her workshops will be closed, her looms stilled, their spindles no longer going, and the masses of the people, ground down by a tyranny such as no other people but the Irish have suffered, will begin to know some of the bitter lessons the Irish people have learned."

This proposition to invade Canada was not acceptable to the Fenian body in Canada, with few exceptions. To those of them who had interests at stake every reason conspired to induce them to oppose any such proposition. They suffered nothing under Canadian laws, and no change in their institutions would give them a better government than they already enjoyed. Some might have a preference for a republican form of government, but the wish for a change was not strong enough to warrant them in placing their lives and property at stake. A strong protest, therefore, was extensively signed by the Canadian Circles, and presented, through a delegation, to O'Mahoney, at his headquarters in New York, protesting against any such invasion. This protest was cordially received by O'Mahoney, and was by him published, coupled with his comments, in which he appealed to the brotherhood to reject with contempt the advice of any man who strove to distract their attention from Ireland's wrongs, and degrade the organization by making it an instrument of wanton aggression upon an inoffensive people.

Early in the year also it was announced at the headquarters of Colonel Sweeney, in New York, that money was pouring into the treasury for war pur-

poses, at the rate of fifteen thousand dollars per day, and that applications were being daily received from all parts of the Union for commissions to raise troops to take the field against Canada. In Buffalo three regiments were drilling every night, and this city was a depot for the accumulaton of arms, ammunition and outfits.

The suspension of the habeas corpus in Ireland proved a valuable auxiliary in working up enthusiasm and excitement amongst the Fenians in the United States. O'Mahoney now issued a proclamation, saying: "Brothers, the hour of action has arrived; the habeas corpus has been suspended in Ireland; our brothers are being arrested by hundreds and cast into prison; call vour Circles together immediately; send us all the aid in your power at once, and, in God's name, let us start for Ireland, our destination. Aid, brothers! Help, for God and Ireland." This also furnished the occasion for holding mass meetings in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Troy, Burlington, St. Louis, and at all Colonel Sweeney received the heartiest pledges of support, and large sums were forwarded to headquarters.

He announced his plan of operation as follows: "Detroit, Rochester, Plattsburg and Portland are appointed rendezvous for the troops, and forces at Detroit and Rochester will operate conjointly upon Toronto, Hamilton and London, while other forces are to move from Ogdensburg and Plattsburg upon Montreal. When the Canadian borders are once crossed bases of operations will be established in the enemy's country, so that international quarrels with Washington may be avoided. It is expected to have a million and a half dollars of ready cash, to give transportation and maintenance for thirty thousand troops for one month. Of this force, eight thousand will carry the line of the Grand Trunk west of Hamil-

ton, while five thousand will cross from Rochester to Cobourg, prepared to move east or west, either to assist the three thousand who will cross at Wolf's Island to Kingston, or take part with the western detachment in capturing Toronto. This, it is thought, will occupy two weeks. Thus entrenched securely in Upper Canada, holding all the lines of the Grand Trunk Railway, and sufficient rolling stock secured to control the main line, the Fenians hope to attract to their colors fifty thousand American Irishmen, and equip a navy on Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario. This having been accomplished, thirty thousand men, under General Sweeney, will move down the St. Lawrence upon Kingston, simultaneous with ten thousand men by the lines of the Chambly, and these will converge upon Montreal.

"At Chicago the Fenians already possess five sailing vessels, a tug, and two small transports. At Buffalo they are negotiating for vessels. At Bay City and Cleveland, they have crafts in process of refitting. All these will simultaneously raise the green flag, and stand ready to succour the land forces. Goderich, Sarnia and Windsor will be simultaneously occupied. All the available rolling stock will be seized, and the main line of the Grand Trunk cut at Grand River to prevent passage of cars and locomotives to Hamilton. The geographical position and configuration of Upper Canada will permit of a few thousand men holding the interior section of country between Cobourg and Georgian Bay. These are connected by a chain of lakes and water courses, and the country affords subsistence for a vast army, and horses sufficient to mount as many cavalry as the brotherhood can muster, as well as quartermasters' teams in quantity. This section will at once be reduced to a grand military department, with Hamilton for the capital,

and a loan advertised for. While this is being negotiated, General Sweeney will push rapidly forward on the line of the Grand Trunk, in time to superintend the fall of Montreal, where ocean shipping will be found in great quantity. With the reduction of Montreal, a demand will be made upon the United States for a formal recognition of Canada, whose name at once is to be changed to New Ireland. While this is being urged, the green flag will scour all the bays and gulfs in Canada. A Fenian fleet from San Francisco will carry Vancouver and the Fraser River country, and give security to the Pacific squadron rendezvousing at San Juan, and the rights of belligerents will be enforced upon the British Government, as a prompt retaliation for the cruelties of British court martials. The population of the British provinces is little above two and a half millions, and the military resources of the united provinces fall short of sixty thousand men. Of these, nearly ten thousand are of Irish birth or descent. The States will furnish, for the subjugation of these, eighty thousand veteran troops. With the single exception of Quebec, it is believed, the whole of the British provinces will fall in a single campaign. During the ensuing winter, diversions will be put in motion in Ireland, and while it is believed the brotherhood can defy the Queen's war transports and land an army in the west, arrangements will be developed to equip a powerful navy for aggressive operations at sea. Before the first of January it is thought fifty commissioned vessels of war, and privateers, carrying three hundred guns, will be afloat, and to maintain these, tremendous moral influence will be exerted upon every Irish American citizen to contribute to the general funds for the support of war. The third year of Irish tenure of Canada will, it is believed, array two great powers against Great Britain."

The Canadian Government was not blind to what was going forward on the other side of the line. Communications from the English ambassador at Washington, received early in March, led to ten thousand volunteers being called out for active service, and troops were stationed at all the prominent points along the border. These precautions led the Fenian leaders temporarily to call a halt, and when the month of March passed without any further movement being made, the volunteers were withdrawn. In April an attempt was made to capture Campobello, an island near Eastport, on the Maine border, the attempt being made under the auspices of Colonel O'Mahoney, and was intended to serve as a basis of operations against England. The mismanagement which attended the whole enterprise, coupled with the suffering and privations to which the men taking part in the movement were subjected, threw a damper upon all operations, and led to bitter denunciations against the leaders responsible for the occurrence. This catastrophe proved the ruin of O'Mahoney's influence. He attempted to exculpate himself by publishing a letter, in which he said that Campobello was considered neutral territory, and was claimed both by the United States and England, and that, if captured, would not lead to complications with either country. He laid the blame for the exposure of his plans upon traitors, and alleged that when the men arrived at their destination they found the place fortified by the English, and a gun boat patrolling the coast, and that, under these circumstances, nothing was left to do but abandon the expedition.

Head Centre Stephens arrived opportunely just at this time, and assumed control of the American organization. O'Mahoney resigned, and the treasurer, Killien, was dismissed from office. The only

assets handed over were five hundred dollars, everything else having disappeared.

About the middle of May, the truce at first existing between Stephens on the one hand, and Roberts and Sweeney on the other, was ruptured. The former adopted O'Mahoney's views, denounced the proposed invasion of Canada, and urged a united effort to raise five million dollars, with which to proceed directly with the liberation of Ireland, and at once set out upon a tour throughout the United States, to advocate his views, and raise the necessary funds. At this point we part company with Mr. Stephens. Canada's interests are now involved in the movement of the other faction.

The Fenian senate, as we have said, endorsed Roberts and Sweeney. Funds had been provided, and the order now issued from headquarters, directing the various military organizations to proceed at once to the rendezvous already selected. Mobilization and concentration rapidly took place, and matters culminated by a Fenian raid upon the Canadian border at Fort Erie, on the first and second days of June, which is deserving of a chapter to itself.

Chapter 33.

FENIAN INVASION AT FORT ERIE.

During the weeks which immediately followed the 3rd of June, the railway companies advertised excursions from Toronto, London and other points to the field of battle at Ridgeway, and like many others who were interested in the late occurrences, I took advantage of the opportunity, and spent two days in its neighbourhood. I obtained a good deal of in-

formation, and arrived at some conclusions with respect to the affair which were not entirely in accord with the public view.

During the last days of May, more than two thousand Fenians arrived in Buffalo from places as far distant as St. Louis and Cincinnati. The Canadian Government also, at this time, received despatches from the United States, that the Fenians were massing at Buffalo, Detroit and Malone, N.Y.; that companies had left from New Haven, Boston and Cleveland, while other detachments were leaving Leavenworth, Kansas, Portland, Hudson and Rochester, and other Fenian centres. As a precautionary measure, Deputy Adjutant General Durie ordered four hundred men of the Queen's Own Volunteers, the 13th Volunteer Battalion of Hamilton, the Welland Field Battery of Artillery, and the York and Caledonia Rifles, to assemble at Port Colborne, of which force Lieutenant-Colonel Booker, of the 13th, was the ranking officer. All the troops, however, were under the command of Colonel Peacock, a British officer, who had fixed his headquarters at St. Catharines, and who had directly under him two hundred men of the 16th, his own regiment; three hundred of the 47th Regiment; a battery of Royal Artillery; all of these being regular troops; and the 10th Royals, a volunteer battalion of infantry from Toronto.

Having received word, on the 1st of June, that the Fenians had crossed the river, and that their scouts were seen in the afternoon in the neighbourhood of Chippewa, Colonel Peacock moved his forces from St. Catharines to Chippewa, and sent Captain Akers with a message to Colonel Booker, to move his troops early next morning from Port Colborne to Stevensville, a point about half way between them, so that their united force might move upon the enemy's position.

Colonel O'Neill had been selected by Roberts and Sweeney to command the Fenian Army of Invasion at Buffalo. He was described to me as a comparatively young man, of average height, well built, and of a dignified manner. He wore a light moustache, and short hair, his most prominent features being a high, square forehead and a Roman nose. This officer had a first-class record as one of Sherman's leaders, and we find, in reviewing the battle, that Colonel Peacock ignored the possibility of a competent officer being in command against him, and suffered for his mistake. Colonel Peacock further erred in forgetting that the bulk of the enemy consisted of disbanded soldiers, who, however unmilitary in their appearance, were seasoned men, who had taken part in many battles, and could be depended upon as veteran troops, to act with steadiness and courage at the time of trial.

To appreciate the situation, the reader must remember that Fort Erie is situated nearly opposite Buffalo, and forms the apex of a triangle, of which the base would be a line drawn from Chippewa, near Niagara Falls, on the north, to Port Colborne, on Lake Erie, to the west, the distance from any one of these points to the other being in the neighbourhood of sixteen miles. The village of Stevensville lay about half way between Chippewa and Port Colborne, and a few miles south of it is Ridgeway, a point on the Grand Trunk Railway, between Port Colborne and Fort Erie.

At four o'clock, on the morning of June 1st, between eight hundred and one thousand Fenians, under Colonel O'Neill, landed at Fort Erie, and shortly afterwards proceeded to the Newbigging farm, just north of the village, where they camped, and which they temporarily fortified. Colonel O'Neil immediately impressed horses, and mounting the most intelli-

gent of his men, sent them out as scouts, north and west, to obtain information with respect to his enemy, and the best positions at which to fight the battle, which he knew could only for a short time be delayed. His intelligent appreciation of the situation was immediately manifested, and the same evening he moved his whole force north, along the road which follows the windings of the Niagara River, to Chippewa, and encamped for the night on the best defensive position in the whole peninsula. This was the angle where the Black River, a sluggish stream, about ten or twelve miles in length, and which flows in a north-easterly direction, empties into the Niagara River, about six miles above Chippewa. The angle made by the union of these waters was admirably adapted by nature for his purpose. The bank of the Black River, on the north , was low, and its bed was marshy and unfordable; while on the south it rose some ten or twelve feet, and was high and dry, very suitable for his camp, and well adapted for defence. In fact, holding ing the bridge across the stream made his position impregnable, so far as any forces immediately available against him were concerned, and afforded him an opportunity of entrapping Colonel Peacock if he should continue his advance south along the river road. About three o'clock in the morning, his scouts reported that Lieutenant-Colonel Booker had placed his force upon the cars at Port Colborne, and evidently intended shortly to move towards Fort Erie, but as the bridge between Ridgeway and Fort Erie had, under orders from himself, been destroyed early in the day, he felt assured that the movement was intended as a combination one with the forces of Colonel Peacock, and that the troops from the west would, in all probability, disembark at Ridgeway station, and attempt to make a juncture along the ridge road with the forces from the north. Appreciating at once the

situation, and exercising that supreme vigilance which alone can win success, he, at day dawn, hastily breakfasted his troops, and moved south-westerly along the south bank of the Black River for some five miles, during which his movements were completely concealed from his enemy by the shrubbery and trees which formed the bank of the river on his right, and he always had the river as a complete protection against any attack from Colonel Peacock's forces on the north.

Having advanced a sufficient distance to the south-west, he moved his little army eastwards along a cross road, until he struck the Ridge road, the main highway from Ridgeway to Chippewa. He then moved forward along this road until, about seven o'clock, his patrols, when within a few miles of Ridgeway station, heard the whistle of Colonel Booker's train, and he immediately prepared his troops for the impending battle.

The Ridge road, as the name implies, is a highway which follows generally in a north-easterly direction a ridge or elevation that extends from Ridgeway to Chippewa. At some places it is quite narrow, only fifty or sixty feet wide, but at the intersection of the Garrison road, about two miles from Ridgeway, which road leads directly to Fort Erie, the summit of the ridge widens to about half a mile.

Col. O'Neil placed his reserves on the south-east side of the Ridge road, about a mile in rear of the Garrison road, drew up his first line immediately south of the latter road, and extended his skirmishers some half a mile still further in advance, and now prepared, which had been the entire object of his advance, to destroy one-half of his enemy before any assistance could be given it by the other, and thus defeat them in detail.

We return now to the troops under Colonel Booker. These had been needlessly entrained on the cars the night before, and having been carried on to Ridgeway early in the morning, were moved forward along the Ridge road, tired and hungry, no time being allowed for breakfast. Colonel Booker placed his men in the following formation: The Queen's Own in advance, with one company extended on each side of the road as skirmishers. Immediately behind them the 13th, and his other troops marched along the road itself. As the whole force approached the Concession road, south of the Garrison road, where a belt of woods crosses the highway, the advance was suddenly and unexpectedly met by the sharp reports of some hundreds of rifles and wreaths of smoke curling up amongst the trees, disclosed the presence of the hostile force. Two additional companies of the Queen's Own were now deployed in support of the skirmishing line, and the Highland Company and the University Rifles shortly afterwards were advanced so as to extend this line still farther to the right. Taking advantage of all cover that offered, the Queen's Own steadily moved forward, forcing back the enemy's skirmishers upon their first line, and in the course of an hour pressed back the opposing force upon its reserves. Up to this point nothing could have been finer than the martial courage shown by this untried volunteer force. An error, however, was made in not deploying the 13th Battalion instead of keeping them massed on the road, where they could do no effective work, and were not even in a proper position to support the advanced line. The spirited manner in which the firing was kept up rapidly exhausted the ammunition, which only consisted of forty rounds per man, but before it had become absolutely necessary to replace the Queen's Own by the 13th, who still retained their supplies of ammunition, some of the scouts reported

to Colonel Booker that horses could be seen among the trees, and that the enemy evidently had cavalry, and was preparing to charge. At this point Colonel Booker made an error in judgment, as a little consideration would have assured him how impossible it was that any important body of cavalry could be opposed to him. Unable, however, from his position, to verify this information, he accepted it as true, and ordered his buglers to sound the recall and prepare for cavalry. The nearest companies obeyed the order. Some of them rallied upon the main body; others rallied upon squares hastily formed on the field, and afterwards fell back upon the reserves. While in this position they afforded a perfect mark for the rifles of the enemy, and men began to fall on all hands. It was soon perceived the order had been improperly given, and an effort was made to extend the Queen's Own, but the position of the ground, intersected as it was with fences, orchards and clumps of trees, made this very difficult. The rear side of the square at this point began to dissolve under the enemy's fire, and the commander, considering himself overpowered, gave the order to retreat to the base of operations at Port Colborne.

While these occurrences took place with the main body, the Highland Company and the University Rifles, far advanced to the right of the skirmishing line, at first did not hear the bugle sounding the recall, but noticing the supports in retreat, also began to fall back, and in doing so had to pass diagonally across the front of the enemy's fire. As a result, they suffered most severely, in fact one-half of the entire loss in this engagement was borne by that little body of students from the University of Toronto. The retreat was effected successfully, and a creditable rear guard action was carried on between Major Gilmour

and the advancing line of the enemy. The total loss was four killed and forty-four wounded.

It is but fair to say, however, that Colonel Booker was completely exonerated with regard to his conduct in this engagement, although during the few years he yet had to live, he was the subject of much unmerited obloquy in his native city of Hamilton and throughout the country. It should be remembered that the mobilization of the volunteers at Port Colborne was done so hastily that neither commissariat was provided nor reserve ammunition; that Colonel Booker himself was the only mounted officer in the field; that he had no orderlies, no artillery, and no cavalry. He had only a few raw and untrained levies, with which he was called upon to meet an enemy superior in number, and composed of trained and experienced soldiers. A military commission, consisting of Colonel Denison, Lt.-Colonel Chisholm and Lt.-Colonel Shanly, who, at his request, were appointed by the Militia Department to investigate into his conduct, unanimously reported that "there was not the slightest foundation for the unfavourable imputation cast upon Lt.-Colonel Booker in the public prints. That having fallen into error, he promptly exerted himself to repair the effects of his error in person, and in a manner which could leave no stain upon his personal courage or conduct. That from the time the expedition started until it came out of action, it was under disadvantages with which Her Majesty's forces seldom ever have to contend. That more than half of the two battalions were youths under twenty years of age, very few accustomed to drill, and many had never shot anything but a blank cartridge."

While Colonel O'Neil was engaged with Colonel Booker's forces, as above described, early the same morning, Colonel Dennis, who had been sent in com-

mand of the Queen's Own from Toronto, and Captain Akers, contrary to the instructions of Colonel Peacock, obtained the tug boat "Rob" at Port Colborne, and loading it with the Welland Field Battery, and some other small bodies of troops, proceeded to Fort Erie, where they landed the artillery, and eighteen men of the naval corps, all under the command of Captain King, of Port Robinson. This little body of troops first moved up the river road a short distance, but perceiving the Fenians returning in overpowering numbers from Ridgeway, retraced their steps, and took up such defensive positions as they were able to find in the immediate neighbourhood of the wharf. Captain King ordered the men to break and make for cover, and fight it out in detachments as best they could. Thirty of the men occupied the postmaster's house, a frame building, and fought desperately for nearly half an hour. The walls and windows of the building were perforated with the enemy's bullets, and finding it impossible to prolong the resistance, they finally surrendered. A portion of the force, under Captain King, barracaded themselves behind some piles of cordwood on the wharf, and fought against desperate and overwhelming odds with great gallantry, the enemy losing more men in this small engagement than they did in the entire fight at Ridgeway. At length their resistance was overcome, but Captain King, although badly wounded in the leg, which necessitated subsequently its amputation, and unable to stand, after having emptied all the chambers of his revolver upon the enemy approaching to capture him, rolled himself over the edge of the wharf into the river. He was carried by the current under a neighbouring wharf, where he succeeded in holding his head above water by grasping one of the supports of that structure, until, finally, when the enemy had left, he was extricated from his precarious position by

some of the citizens. This little episode casts a ray of brightness upon the operations, which, on the whole, were not such as to be a subject of much congratulation.

Colonel O'Neil having defeated the right half of his enemy's force, had now to consider what course he should pursue with respect to the left, which was advancing, as his scouts reported to him, from Chippewa. He had been promised large reinforcements, and he knew many thousands of Fenians had arrived in Buffalo since he crossed the river. He thought it advisable first to fall back towards Ridgeway and communicate with Colonel Sweeney, who was in command at Buffalo, and urge upon him the necessity of his being reinforced at once. His messengers received but little encouragement. It was now known that the American Government had decided to interfere, and would arrest any armed band attempting to cross, and after much discussion and recrimination between the leaders, it was finally decided not to support the movement, but to recall the troops that had already crossed the border. Accordingly, about 3 o'clock in the morning, and while Colonel Peacock, with his forces, was only a few miles distant, bivouacking for the night, within striking distance of the enemy, two large tugs crossed from Black Rock to Fort Erie, took on board the invading forces, and returned them to Buffalo. A few stragglers and patrols up the river road, who were not warned of the intended movement, fell into the hands of the Canadian troops.

In reviewing this episode, now that the mists of prejudice and ignorance which enveloped the affair at the time has disappeared, it must be admitted that, so far as military ability is concerned, Colonel O'Neil showed himself a much more capable and efficient officer than any of those opposed to him. It is an ele-

mentary principle in the art of war, that no greater mistake can be made by a general in the field than to separate his forces to such an extent that one is unable to support the other, if an engagement is brought on. The greatest general of all ages, Napoleon, frequently defeated his adversaries by taking advantage of this very error, and being superior in force at the point of attack, succeeded often in defeating first one and then the other division of the army opposed to him. In separating his forces, and placing one half at Chippewa and the other at Port Colborne, Colonel Peacock violated this fundamental principle, and Colonel O'Neil promptly took advantage of his error. The excuse offered by those who have defended his conduct is, that it was necessary to guard the Welland Canal, and that he being the officer in command of the joint Canadian and regular forces, and unable to know what particular point on the canal would be the object of attack, was compelled to divide his small army the way he did. The answer to this is, that the Welland Canal required no defence except in the neighbourhood of St. Catharines, where the main locks are situated; and, in addition, it was placing a most serious responsibility upon an untried colonial officer, to put him in a position where he might be, and as the occasion proved, was compelled to fight a battle with the enemy without the assistance of an experienced and trained superior officer, and without the support of men accustomed to war.

Chapter 34.

FENIANISM—AFTERMATH.

Having finally decided that to permit large bodies of armed men to make the United States territory a base for operations against a part of the British Empire might be in violation of the American Neutrality Laws, as it clearly was, the United States Government at length took efficient means to prevent further infractions. General Meade disarmed large numbers of Fenians who were preparing to cross the border in the neighbourhood of Malone, and also at Buffalo, and arrested the leaders of the movement, together with many of the Fenians who had just returned from Fort Erie. All of these, however, were, under instructions of the American Attorney General, released upon their own bail, and subsequently a *nolle prosequi* was entered on all the indictments. The American Government perceived that the prosecution of the Fenians was not a wise proceeding politically, and General Banks introduced a Bill in Congress modifying the neutrality laws, so as to facilitate further raids, and at the same time introduced a Bill offering exceptionally favourable terms to any of the colonies which should desire to be annexed to the United States.

Encouraged by these proceedings in Congress, Roberts and Sweeney continued, during the summer, their agitation for further operations against Canada, and continued their calls for funds, arms and men. On this account a condition of anxiety prevailed throughout Canada, and to allay this feeling, volunteers were kept in camp for some time, at various points along the border. However, no overt act of invasion was committed, although, in September, when Roberts was re-elected President of the Irish

Republic, his address stated there were six hundred and twenty Circles in the United States and Canada; that he had in the treasury one hundred and thirty-six thousand dollars, and in depot twenty-eight thousand muskets, besides a quarter of a million dollars worth of ammunition, and other warlike materials.

During the summer and fall of this same year, Mr. McGee continued his denunciations of Fenianism in addresses which he delivered at Aylmer, Kingston, London, Hamilton and Toronto. In one of these, he said: "The civil war, as was natural, bred a class of men averse to returning to the paths of peace. These fighting men wanted a cry, a cause, and a field of plunder. They borrowed the Irish cry, caricatured the Irish cause, and selected Canada as their field of plunder. Do not flatter yourselves, however, that you have done with Fenianism. Either President Johnston must put it down in good earnest, with its ringleaders, or we ourselves must put it down in blood on Canadian soil. These seem to me the only ends in store for the American Fenians, and this having been my conviction, I need hardly add that my present politics for Canada are, plenty of breach-loaders for our volunteers, and complete union amongst our people."

The Fenians did not forget Mr. McGee at their meetings, and we find Colonel O'Neil, at Buffalo, during the fall, saying: "We have a floating population in the United States of half a million Irishmen who are willing to express their respects to Canada." (A voice in the audience, "What about McGee?") "We do not bother about such men as McGee; we can get along without them; we have just such traitors amongst ourselves, trafficking upon Irish votes, ready to cross from one party to the other."

During the fall of 1866, the trials of the Fenians captured during the late raid came on for hearing at Toronto, and a number, being convicted, were sen-

tenced to death. This created a great outcry in the United States from their friends and sympathisers, and at their instance, the American Secretary of State memoralized the British Ambassador at Washington, urging a policy of leniency to these political criminals, such as England had strongly urged upon the American Government at the close of the war. At the Fenian headquarters the greatest indignation was expressed, and Colonel Roberts promised to hang two Canadians for every Fenian. Before the sentence could be carried into effect, Her Majesty exercised her prerogative of clemency, and commuted the penalty to twenty years penal servitude, at the same time expressing the hope, that her action would not be misunderstood, for in any similar cases the extreme penalty would be exacted.

When the new year was reached and Colonel Roberts' promise of another invasion failed to be realized, the agitation in the United States rapidly died away, and matters culminated in an anti-climax, at a great meeting in New York, when James Stephens, the idol of his people, and the one man of all others, whose honesty of purpose, it was said, could not be impeached, was branded as a thief and a coward, some even going so far as to claim that he had always been an English agent, selected to shipwreck and ruin the Irish cause.

Chapter 35.

LAST PARLIAMENT OF OLD CANADA.

On the 8th of June, 1866, the last Parliament of old Canada was held at the city of Ottawa, in the new buildings, now for the first time in condition for occupation by the legislature.

Although opposed to the Government in their financial policy as propounded by Mr. Galt, and to that extent working in harmony with his old associates from Lower Canada, Mr. Brown and his friends opposed them, and supported the Government upon all matters relating to confederation, and during this session complimented the Attorney General West upon his willingness to accept amendments respecting the constitutional questions before the House, expressing his hope that the members of each section would not interfere with matters pertaining particularly to the other section.

This session was especially called for the purpose of dealing with the local constitution of the provinces, but Mr. Galt introduced, at an early stage, his financial policy, which made material alterations in the tariff. This was attacked by Mr. Brown and Mr. McGivern, but the rank and file of the Upper Canadian Reformers voted with the Government. It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, in view of the later policy of the two political parties in 1878, that Mr. Galt, in his speech, expressed himself more strongly in favour of free trade than Mr. McKenzie. Mr. Galt said: "I think that these changes, so far from injuring our manufacturers, will place them in a better position by cheapening every article that goes into the manufactured products. I wish the Government was in a position now to abolish the custom duties on all these

articles, and I hope the day will soon come, when, if not myself, the honourable gentlemen opposite, or some one whom I can support, will be able to make a clean sweep of all duties on manufactured goods."

Mr. McKenzie said: "I do not believe in building up manufactures by a protective tariff, but, at the same time, if the United States has adopted a policy whereby we lose them as a market, we are bound to adopt such means as will make a market for ourselves. Under the policy of the Finance Minister, manufactures have grown up in the country, and it is most unjust to those who have embarked their capital in them, that the protection should now be withdrawn without a moment's warning." Mr. Dorion expressed himself in favour of free trade, and said he believed this was the true policy for our country, while Mr. Holton announced himself also as in favour of free trade, but said he did not believe in bringing about violent and sudden changes.

When the system of government to be adopted for the new province of Lower Canada came up for discussion, Mr. Dorion moved to have a single legislature ,as in Upper Canada, but this was opposed to the wishes of a majority of that province.

The most serious difficulty in settling the local powers arose over the matter of protection to the minorities in both provinces in the matter of education. There was no particular difficulty with the provision to be made applicable in the Lower Province, but the Bill to give similar protection to the minority in Upper Canada, at once raised the old battle cry of sectarian schools, about which Mr. Brown and the Reform party had so long struggled. The knot, however, was finally cut by the Government withdrawing both Bills, against the wishes of Mr. Galt, who had the interests of the Protestant minority of Lower Canada especially under his care, and who felt it necessary

under these circumstances, to resign his portfolio. Subsequently, however, he became one of the delegates sent to England to settle the terms of the British North America Act, and when the clauses came up for final adoption, a section, protecting the rights and privileges of the minorities with reference to education, was inserted at his instance.

As a final effort, when the clauses had all been passed, Mr. Dorion moved an amendment, that if the provisions for local constitutions, as passed by the Imperial Government, should differ in any respect, from the resolutions adopted by the House, they should not be put into force until finally submitted for approval to the Canadian Parliament. This was opposed by Mr. Brown, who replied that such an amendment would place the colonial legislature above the Imperial Parliament, and the amendment was accordingly voted down by a large majority.

The 14th of August was the last day of the last session of the Parliament of old Canada, but instead of this fact drawing forth all the better feelings of the members, it witnessed one of the most unpleasant episodes in my parliamentary experience. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald accused the Government of keeping a number of offices dangling before the eyes of certain hungry members of the House, for many months, so as to make sure of their votes, and to avoid the possibility, as he expressed it himself, *of their playing Turk on them,* in case the distribution of patronage should not be satisfactory. Mr. Holton followed along the same line, when the following colloquy took place:

Mr. Powell—What about Judge Sicotte's appointment?

Mr. Holton—What is the point of that enquiry?

Mr. John A. Macdonald—You bought him.

Mr. Holton—There is no analogy between the present case and Sicotte's.

Mr. John A. Macdonald—Did you or did you not buy him? If you did not, he sold himself.

Mr. Holton—We never bought him or any other member; we appointed him because he was fit for the office.

Mr. Macdonald—You withdrew his vote to make a majority of two a minority of one; you gave him office, and degraded justice, and the bench, by appointing a man who would take a judgeship at such a time.

Mr. Holton—Degrade the bench by appointing an ex-Attorney General? He was your colleague at one time, and if to appoint such a person is to degrade the bench, the bench was degraded, and not otherwise.

A few days afterwards the House adjourned, and making use of the incident just mentioned, the *Globe* proceeded to criticize the personal habits of Mr. Macdonald and Mr. McGee, which, in an impartial account, requires to be noted.

It will be observed by those acquainted with these two gentlemen, that I have not in any way adverted to the fact, well known to all, that at times, like Mr. Fox and many distinguished statesmen of an earlier day, as well as some of a more recent period, these gentlemen, who were of a social disposition, when in the company of friends were at times intoxicated. The condemnation to be attached to this failing will largely depend upon the mental and moral constitution of the critic. One can readily imagine the view which would be held by men like Mr. Brown or Mr. McKenzie, total abstainers, who, either from training or heredity, viewed life in all its aspects in a serious light. The moral fibre which some call *puritanic* was characteristic of their natures, and in their eyes, a habit of this kind was not a venial folly, but a culpable fault in any person, and in a public man, in whose hands were great public interests, which might suffer by his con-

duct, it was almost criminal in its character. Their opinions, no doubt, were most conscientiously held, and they cannot be blamed for them.

Mr. Macdonald never forgave Mr. Brown for his attack at this time.

On the 17th instant, the *Globe* published an editorial headed " Scandalous," and after referring to the occurrence on the day the House was dissolved, said the only explanation of Mr. Macdonald's conduct in attacking a judge of the Superior Court in Lower Canada was, that the speaker was not sober, and expressed the hope that this disgrace would not again occur in a Canadian Parliament. The ministerial press took up the cudgels in defence of Mr. Macdonald, which led to the *Globe,* on the 22nd, returning to the charge, and alleging that during the fortnight in which the country was invaded by the Fenians, and the lives and property of our people imperilled, Mr. Macdonald, although Minister of Militia, was not in a position to transact business by reason of his failing, and that his condition, during the last ten days of the session, if disclosed, would shock the country. The church papers took the matter up; the result was a most painful scandal, and for some weeks this was the principle topic of discussion in the papers and in the country. Mr. Brown disclaimed any personal animosity in his disclosures, claiming that his attack had been governed solely by a deep sense of public duty; that, in fact, the earlier editorials had been written by the staff of his paper, without his knowledge, but, at the same time, he concurred now in all they said. Of the propriety of his action in animadverting upon the private failings of public men, each person will judge for himself. The opinion of the majority of mankind, I imagine, will be against the propriety of such disclosures, except it be clearly made out that the failing is detrimental, and likely to result in great injury to

the public interests, and that anyone violating a convention known and recognized by public men in all countries, takes upon himself a very grave responsibility.

Chapter 36.

THE BIRTH OF A NEW EMPIRE.

On the 7th of November, the Canadian delegation appointed to represent Canada on the final drafting of the Bill for the federation of the provinces, sailed for England, and on the 4th December, the first conference of delegates was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London. From this time onwards, until the 9th of February, the delegates, with the assistance of the Governor General, Lord Monk, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, and particularly the law officers of the Crown, moulded the Quebec Resolutions into the form of the Act as we now find it in the statutes. The colonial members of the conference were drawn from both political parties in each province. McDougall and Howland from Canada; Archibald and McCully from Nova Scotia, and Tilley, Mitchell and Fisher from New Brunswick, having always been representative members of the Reform party in their respective provinces. Finally, the Bill became law on the 29th of March, 1867, to take effect on a day to be fixed by Royal Proclamation.

On the 27th of May, Lord Monk wrote to Mr. Macdonald, entrusting him with the formation of a ministry to carry on the Government in the new confederation, which, by a Royal Proclamation, was ap-

pointed to come into being on the 1st day of July, 1867. Mr. Macdonald at once wrote to Mr. Tilley and Dr. Tupper to come to Ottawa on the 1st of July, and instructed the latter to bring with him Mr. Archibald, saying, in his communication: "I am glad to say that we are to continue the Government, *quoad* Canada proper, on the old coalition principle." Finally, by the end of June, the new Government was announced, carrying out the proposed principle of coalition, and Mr. Macdonald gave portfolios to Blair, Howland and McDougall from Ontario; Archibald from Nova Scotia, and Tilley and Mitchell from New Brunswick, as representatives of the Reform party. The new Government was, by Mr. Macdonald, styled, and it was subsequently known by, the name Liberal-Conservative, to indicate its coalition character, and the fifteenth resolution of the Quebec conference was conformed to, by appointing the new Senators equally from the two political parties.

The confederation of the British North American provinces may be likened to a ship, of which many foresaw the importance, and recommended the building. The time, however, had not arrived, when those who should do the work, felt the necessity of such an ark of safety. At length it was given to one man to realize that the time was at hand, and indeed actually present. The burden was placed upon his heart and mind, to announce, in clarion tones, the duty of the hour. Soon another takes up the cry, and by their united efforts, the ship's keel is laid. Many hands take part in the work, and soon the ribs are sprung, the sides and deck are planked, and, finally, she is launched upon the bosom of a stream that empties its waters into the great ocean. Many a dangerous rapid lies ahead; to some it is given to safely pilot the precious vessel by the rocks and shoals, until at length, in all her majesty, with sails full set, and glistening in

the morning sun, she proudly speeds upon her way amongst the stately ships of empire, that float upon the Ocean of Time.

As far back as the beginning of the last century, confederation of all the British possessions in America was recommended by such men as Mr. Uniacke of Nova Scotia, and Chief Justice Sewell, of Quebec. Later, in 1822, Sir John Beverley Robinson, in Upper Canada, at the request of the Colonial Office, submitted such a plan, and Lord Durham gave it his approval in 1839, when Canada was emerging from the throes of a rebellion. In 1854, the Premier of Nova Scotia, the Honourable Mr. Johnston, proposed a federal union of all the provinces, in the legislature of his province, and in 1859, Messrs. Cartier, Galt and Ross proposed it to the British Government; but the time was not yet arrived when it could be accomplished. During the next few years this cure for our national ills was overlooked or forgotten, until Mr. McGee, fully conscious of the disease, disclosed the remedy, and aroused the national mind to a full conception of the danger which would result from letting our national constitution crumble to ruin, as it was rapidly doing, owing to the racial and religious animosities that divided Upper and Lower Canada.

An awakening from this slumber could be seen to follow his great speeches on this topic, in Halifax and St. John in the Maritime Provinces, and at Port Robinson, Ottawa, London and Toronto in the Upper Province, during the years 1862 and 1863, coupled with his letters to the press, which were copied and scattered broadcast throughout the colonies. Then followed Mr. Brown's resolution in October, 1863, which finally was carried in March, 1864, and which made the question at last one of practical politics. To these two may we fairly ascribe the first place amongst the fathers of confederation. To them was

it given to make the building of a ship of state a possibility, by concentrating public opinion upon this as a cure for our national ills. But another birth pang was needed before the work of building was forced upon our legislators, and not until the new Tache-Macdonald Government, only in office six weeks, was defeated, were the members of that Government convinced that no other means could be devised to preserve our institutions, except that advocated by Mr. McGee and Mr. Brown; and with them accordingly they joined hands. From that moment they loyally and heartily took part in the work of building. The keel was laid at Charlottetown, the hull was launched at Quebec. To the friends of confederation in the three provinces, irrespective of party affiliation, was it given to direct the ship through the rapids which, from time to time, appeared, as the Confederation Bill was pushed through the legislative halls of the respective provinces, until at length, when the masts had been placed, the canvas spread, and everything had received its finishing touch in England, on the 29th day of March, 1867, having surmounted all obstacles and dangers, she safely floats, fully equipped for her voyage, by the passing of the British North America Act in the Imperial Parliament.

Chapter 37.

FENIANISM IN MONTREAL.

It becomes necessary to retrace our steps somewhat for the purpose of dealing, as a whole, with the subject indicated at the head of this chapter.

The Irish Catholics in Montreal, in the early years of the '60's, were said to number upwards of thirty thousand, and included many wealthy and influential citizens. The principal national organization was St. Patrick's Society.

About 1862, and when the headquarters in New York was full of funds, and its staff full of confidence, stealthy attempts were made to introduce Fenianism into the city. The Hibernian Society was first organized, but this body never grew to any very large proportions, and the publicity given to its work, and the unenviable notoriety obtained by its members through the rank treason talked at a dinner given by it at the Exchange Hotel, in March, 1864, speedily led to its extinction. It was found the work could be more successfully accomplished in the St. Patrick's Society, of which some of the principal spirits in the Hibernian Society were also leading members. Their efforts first became apparent in 1863, when the executive of the society was considering the propriety of getting up a course of winter lectures. At this time McKenna was president, and McShane vice-president, men of high standing in the community. To them a leading spirit of the Fenian organization, who was also a prominent member of the society, suggested the propriety of his getting a lecturer in New York, which city he was about to visit. He obtained from the officers a written authority for that purpose, and suggested O'Mahoney's name to the president, who, being unacquainted with the Fenian organization or its aims,

readily consented. Carrying these credentials, this person readily obtained access to the head of the brotherhood, and received from O'Mahoney a letter, which was read in the society on his return, expressing his satisfaction with the communication now begun between the Fenian brotherhood and St. Patrick's Society. This letter was placed upon the minutes of the society in spite of the president's protest.

Finding that the evil was spreading, in January, 1865, at the annual St. Patrick's Society festival, Mr. McGee felt it necessary to denounce Fenianism with his usual energy. He then urged the members, that if there was the least proof this foreign disease had seized on any the least amongst them, that they establish at once, for their own sake, a *cordon sanitaire* around their people, and establish a committee which would purge their ranks of this political leprosy. Let them weed out and cast off those rotten members who, without a single governmental grievance to complain of in Canada, would yet weaken and divide the Irish Catholics in these days of danger and anxiety.

Soon after this, by systematic and persistent efforts, the Fenian element gained control of the society, and the president and the better element resigned. The extent to which the evil had spread may be realized when it is stated, that at this time, the winter of 1865, when Mr. Brydges undertook to form his employees (mainly Irish Catholics) into a special corps to defend their country, ninety men refused to take the oath of allegiance.

It was now felt that Mr. McGee was a serious obstacle to the success of their plans. All his personal friends were strong anti-Fenians. He himself had frequently denounced the brotherhood by voice and pen. He was the author of the anti-Fenian test of membership, and was believed to have facilitated the extinguishment of the Hibernian Society. It

was, however, thought necessary to obtain some prominent person willing to be put forward as an antagonist to Mr. McGee's policy and politics, as well as to that gentleman personally, and Mr. Bernard Devlin, an energetic and clever criminal lawyer, was selected for that purpose. A sufficient infusion of the wrong sort of members having been, month by month, recruited and enlisted into the society, Mr. Devlin was, in April, 1865, elected President. Shortly after this Mr. McGee made his Wexford speech, which has been previously referred to, and in which, among other things, he said:

"The Fenians have deluded each other, and many of them are ready to betray each other. I have myself seen letters from some of the brethren in Chicago, Cincinnati and other places, offering their secret minutes and members roll for sale. It is the same infamous old business. As sure as filth produces vermin, it is of the very nature of such conspiracies as this to breed informers and approvers."

This speech was met by the disclaimer, which I have previously referred to, said to have been signed by six hundred Irish Catholics in Montreal, and although the first names on the document, who were prominent in Montreal circles, repudiated their signatures, it seems apparent that the bulk of them were *bona fide,* and the document truthfully indicated the fact that Devlin had by this time supplanted Mr. McGee in the hearts and affections of a large number of his former supporters.

During the spring of 1866, the crisis in Fenian affairs, which indicated a speedy attack upon Canada, created a great ferment amongst the Montreal Fenians. It was noticed at the review of the benevolent societies of Montreal, on St. Patrick's day, before the Governor General (Lord Monk), many members of the St. Patrick's Society refused to take part

when cheers were called for the Queen, while much hissing was carried on when the band played the National Anthem. As the spring wore on, many Fenians left Montreal for the United States, some of whom returned after the raid had ended; others remained permanently on the other side of the line. One of the latter, in writing subsequently to a friend in whom he had confidence, confessed that the intention had been arrived at by the Montreal Fenians, as soon as the invading army had advanced within striking distance, to rise in the night, and hold the city, and that one of the first acts would have been to put Mr. McGee out of the way. The future showed these expressed intentions were not wholly braggadocia. During October, a Fenian organizer visited the various lodges of the brotherhood in Montreal and Ottawa, and made notes of his journey, which were entrusted by him to another brother, and subsequently, for a proper compensation, reached the hands of Mr. McGee, and by him were handed to the Executive Council of the Government. This and other evidence of the widespread ramifications of the conspiracy, led to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the adoption of a new Felony Act, making the training and drilling of armed men an unlawful act. Early in November of this same year—1866—Mr. McGee delivered a speech in Montreal, at a banquet given in honour of Mr. Cartier, in which he referred to the attempts of some Irish Catholics to make capital out of the death in Quebec of one Felix Prior, in which he said: "I thought we had got the demon of class-discord pretty well laid in our city, but I saw the crazed attempt made to make a national question, of a late deplorable homicide, to coin the blood of a slaughtered countryman, into the small currency of a political intrigue." To this the new executive of the society passed a resolution, expressing pain and re-

gret, that attempts had been made to grossly misrepresent their action in reference to the shooting of Prior, and to fasten on it a desire to mix up questions of nationality with the administration of justice. These strained relations culminated on the 14th of November, when Mr. McGee made a speech at an Irish concert in Montreal. Referring to the Fenians who had been sentenced to be hanged, he said: "These men deserve death." (This was met by hisses. Going forward to the footlights, he repeated): "These men deserve death." (Hisses were here renewed. Again he said): "I repeat deliberately, these men deserve death, but I will add, the spirit of our times is opposed to the infliction of capital punishment, when any other punishment can reach the case, and in these cases, I hope it may be possible to temper justice with mercy. As to the handful who hissed just now in the far corner, if I had not stood between them and the machinations of these men and their emissaries; if I had not stood between them and the consequences of their criminal sympathies, some of them would be sharing to-day the fate of those fairly tried and justly condemned. Yes, I have had in these hands evidences of your criminal folly, and I could have put some of you where you could not hiss or hear much, but you were not worth prosecuting. You may be worth watching, and there are amongst yourselves, I can tell you, as there were amongst the Toronto Fenians, men who are keeping a good account of all your outgoings and incomings."

This speech created a great sensation, and still more strongly embittered the feeling with which he was held by the Fenian element in the city, and created a fear amongst them that Mr. McGee might have in his possession some disclosures of informers and spies, which, at a moment's notice, might land them in prison. The knowledge that the sword of Damocles

was suspended over their heads, and the belief that perhaps his destruction might prevent such a catastrophe to themselves, begot the wish, at first and now, perhaps, only vaguely formed, that his life must be put an end to, if they were hereafter to enjoy a moment's peace. That his life was now in constant peril was believed by Mr. McGee and his friends, and the knowledge of the sacrifice he was making in the interests of his country, added poignancy to the feeling of wrong he experienced, at the callous way in which his quandom friend, Mr. Brown, treated a communication from a Montreal correspondent, accusing him of disloyalty, in a speech made by him in November of this year, and which led to a very acrimonious newspaper battle in the month of December. In his correspondence in this connection, Mr. McGee said:

"If there is any ground on which an honest Canadian journalist ought not to have attacked me, it is precisely this ground of Fenianism, for if ever a public man, with my antecedents, had a bitter and painful duty to discharge, assuredly on that subject I had. It is now over two years since I first sounded the note of warning on that subject, in answer to an address of the St. Patrick's Society of Peterborough. Ever since, in season and out of season, through the American and Irish press, as well as nearer home, I have never ceased making war on that infamous conspiracy. At a time when, as it is well known to my friends here, I have had to risk even my personal safety in doing battle against the miserable delusion; at a time when the secret enemy, who never sleeps, as is perfectly well known here, has tried every resource of intimidation against me in vain. At such a time, you, with whom I have acted for many years as a friend, and for many months as a colleague, you choose this time to throw in your testimony against me, as being untrue to Canada on the subject of Fenianism.

On the eve of leaving this city for three or four months, I thought it politic to throw out a salutary menace to the handful of Fenian sympathisers we have here unfortunately amongst us, and you, instead of backing me up, which you should have done, whatever you may think of the Government of which I am a member, you volunteer to play the Fenian game, and run me down, rather than lose an opportunity of damaging a person, whom you happen just at present to consider a political enemy."

In February Mr. McGee set out for Paris to represent Canada at the great international exposition being held in that city. In Halifax, while waiting for the ship to sail, he was presented with an address, signed by four hundred of the principal public men, thanking him for his efforts to put down Fenianism.

After visiting Rome and other cities on the continent Mr. McGee returned in May, and was welcomed by his friends at the railway station in Montreal, on his arrival, and presented with an address, which was significant of the great falling off of his old following, in that the address stated the delegation spoke for his constituents, and a *large number* of his countrymen, and congratulating him upon the political union of the principal British North American colonies, said:

"We cannot but remember that since your entering into public life in this province, you have steadily and zealously laboured to realize the idea of such a union. We know no one who has laboured more, or with greater success, to bring about the result just achieved, whether by establishing social intercourse between the colonies themselves, or by your continuous advocacy of the general design through the press, on the platform, and in your place in Parliament."

In his reply Mr. McGee said:

"Many of the young men here to-day will live to see the proof of what I am about to state, that all other politics that have been preached in British America will grow old and lose their lustre, but the conciliation of class and class, the policy of linking together all our people in one solid chain, and making up for the comparative paucity of our members, being as we are a small people in this respect, by the moral influence of our unity; the policy of smoothing down the sharp and wounding edges of hostile prejudices; the policy of making all feel an interest in the country, and each man in the character of each section of the community, and of each other—each for all, and all for each—this policy never will grow old, never will lose its lustre. The day never will come when the excellency of its beauty will depart, so long as there is a geographical denomination as Canada."

Not long after his return, it became known that Mr. McGee would not be in the new Cabinet, of which Mr. Macdonald was now busily selecting the members, and immediately a delegation of his friends from Montreal went to Ottawa to formally protest against this action on the part of the leader of the new Government. They found, however, their protest unnecessary, and that Mr. McGee had voluntarily withdrawn all claims to a portfolio, under such circumstances as will always redound to his credit, particularly in these days when self-renunciation is not a virtue largely found amongst politicians.

It became necessary, in Mr. McGee's campaign, just about to begin in Montreal, to explain the circumstances of the case, to meet the attacks of his opponents, who alleged that Mr. Macdonald had purposely left him out of his administration. A deadlock had arrived in the organization of the new Cabinet, owing to the number of conflicting claims, all of

which it was quite impossible to satisfy. To pave the way for the speedy solution of the difficulty, Mr. McGee withdrew his claims in favour of Mr. Kenny, an Irish Catholic member from Nova Scotia, saying: "By no act of mine can a moment's embarrassment, or a particle of impediment, be placed in the way of the first union Government. If there has been a sacrifice of personal feeling on my part, I rejoice that I have had in my power to make that sacrifice, for the sake of this dear adopted country, which has been so good and so generous a mistress, and a patron of mine." That Mr. Macdonald appreciated his self-sacrifice is apparent from the following letter written to Mr. McGee, in reply to his letter of withdrawal: "As I have offered you a seat in the Government, you should, I think, have consulted with me before taking the course you did. I quite appreciate the generous feeling which induced you and Dr. Tupper to throw yourselves into the breach. Your disinterested and patriotic conduct has, however, undoubtedly removed great difficulties."

The approval with which his public course was viewed by the great body of the people of this country, was indicated, upon his arrival in Ottawa, when he was presented with an address by the mayor, in the name of the citizens of that city, and also one from St. Patrick's Society, and another from the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, all expressing, in the strongest terms their appreciation of his services in the cause of confederation.

Chapter 38.

MR. McGEE'S LAST ELECTION.

It became necessary now to organize for the first election to be held for the Parliament of the new Dominion of Canada. Mr. McGee had been tendered and had accepted the nomination of his party for the House of Commons, and Mr. Ogilvie for the Provincial Assembly, in Montreal West. The campaign was carried on jointly, the friends of one supporting the other in most instances. Fenianism became the battle cry, and was the dominant issue in the election, so far as Mr. McGee and his opponent, Mr. Devlin, were concerned.

The animosity with which he was viewed by this treasonable faction speedily displayed itself at the first meeting of the electors, which was an open one, at the corner of St. Catherine and St. Lawrence streets, on the evening of the 2nd of August. A crowd of his opponents assembled, who refused to permit any of the speakers obtaining a hearing. Not satisfied with creating a disturbance by their hootings, shouts and groans, they soon began to use stones, which were thrown at his party even after they had left the building, and were proceeding to their homes. This feeling was aroused entirely by Mr. McGee's presence, and some of the voters told Mr. Ogilvie, who went down amongst them to expostulate, that he would be heard if he would come out without Mr. McGee. This, of course, he refused to do. Amongst others mentioned in the papers as creating the row was a prominent contractor for the new St. Patrick's Hall. In his letter in the *Herald* denying the charge, he said: "I am not one of those political weathercocks, with a chameleon conscience, ready to join any side that the sun shines on. I was present to hear the lucubrations of

a man I had long ceased, with dozens of others, to entertain even a ghost of a shadow of respect. Cooper has told us of the last of the Mohicans, and the death struggle of the final representative of a defunct race, and probably the press will ere long have to chronicle *the terminating oration of one*—to give the devil his due—who is as great a political trickster as ever favoured Canada with his presence."

At this day it seems scarcely credible that a man should so publicly announce the determination of his faction to speedily put an end to Mr. McGee's career, but the conflict now had reached so pointed a stage, that prudence seems to have been thrown to the winds.

Next evening, at Point St. Charles, Mr. McGee, who now had police protection, took up the gage of battle, saying: "As to Fenianism, I have strangled it when it first attempted to concentrate in Canada, and I am not going to be annoyed at the carcass. If it is necessary to face domestic conspiracy, I will do so. I will not temporize with the introduction of firebrands and foreign schemes for the destruction of the Government. I have been told if I would let the Fenians alone I would be let alone, but I drove the man from me. Before this day week, man for man, the organizers of that mob will repent. For two years I have had documents in my possession sufficient to have destroyed them, but I thought it was *an ill bird that fouled its own nest;* but next week I will commence in the *Daily News* and *Gazette,* and give documents which will put in their proper place the Fenians of Montreal. I now feel released from every obligation with the lawless band, and you will see, before the end of the week, if Canada has not been exposed to a violent conspiracy, which, during the last few years, has been countermined by me, and which has caused all this rage."

About the middle of August, Mr. McGee published a series of three letters, reviewing the history of Fenianism, from its organization down to the date of his communications, particularly the growth of the brotherhood in Montreal. Throwing off all concealment, he specifically named the men who had been foremost in the movement, and were now its ringleaders. He detailed the communications between them and the headquarters in New York, and alleged that the minute books had subsequently been deliberately burned to destroy all evidence of complicity between St. Patrick's Society executive and the Fenian leaders in the United States. This exposure caused the wildest excitement amongst the Fenians and their sympathizers in Montreal.

Chapter 39.

FENIANISM IN MONTREAL—Continued.

As in some marshy jungle, where poisonous vapours rise, in secret lurks the deadly cobra, monstrous in size, horrid in appearance; he drags along his slimy body, harmless if undisturbed. A fearless hunter pelts him while yet afar, with twigs and stones, to which the reptile pays but little heed. At length, marking his chance, the hunter's spear transfixes the mighty trunk, and gives a mortal wound. Where now the sluggish body? Note the movement of his powerful muscles. Quickly he unrolls his endless coils, and raising his head high above the ground, eyes his foe with watchful glance, always hissing and darting his forked tongue with furious rage. No longer an enemy to be despised; active, alert, filled with deadly hate, he awaits a chance to strike. Failing to appreciate his danger, the luckless youth comes within range of that long and sinuous neck. Quick

as lightning, with jaws agape, the monster leaps upon his unsuspecting foe. The deadly fangs, with poison charged, sink through the brittle shell, crushing all in one hideous mass of blood and brains and splintered bones. So now, this serpent, stricken in a mortal part by Mr. McGee's revelations, emerges from his lair, and two evenings later, at an opposition meeting, voiced by one of the leading speakers, spits poison at his adversary, in these words:

"I ask you, my friends, to read, in connections with the observations I now address to you, the memorable denunciations of the infamous tribe known as political informers, made by the immortal Curran, in the crying time of Ireland's history. You will see how applicable they are to the person of whom I am now speaking. Similar opinions have, time and again, been enunciated by distinguished men of every country. About 1693 there was born in England one of the veriest monsters that ever disgraced humanity. Ancient history records but one (Judas Iscariot) who had passed him in infamy. This degraded wretch was Titus Oates. He declared whilst abroad, also in England, that there had been confided to him, by Catholic traitors, a conspiracy or plot to overturn the Protestant Church of England, and made disclosure of what he termed the Popish plot. He was about as profuse and particular in his information and accusations as *our accuser;* indeed, there is a remarkable likeness between them. (Enthusiastic cheers, again and again repeated.) Political scoundrels of the most abominable principles, amongst them Lord Shaftsbury, of immortal infamy, encouraged and urged on this fiend in human shape to the commission of unparalleled atrocities. The recital of them is the blackest and bloodiest page of English history. In other countries, and in modern times, there have been tools willing to emulate the fame and practice the principles of Titus Oates.

But, gentlemen, until a few days past, the good people of Canada have not known that they were cursed by the presence of such a *foul fiend* in their midst; they were unsuspicious that they were nurturing such a *poisonous serpent* in the bosom of society. An *approver, an informer, a lurking detective,* and he a quandom minister of the Crown, and a professed Irish Catholic. It is incredible, and yet it is true. Alleging that he has long known of this traitorous conspiracy, he now comes forward, like *Titus Oates,* a swift and willing witness, to make his disclosure and produce his documents."

This kind of language, whether intended so or not, was bound to inflame and excite to madness and violence those who already destested Mr. McGee for his exposures, and convinced them that they were not only pardonable for stoning him a few nights before, but that they would be justified in proceeding to still greater lengths of outrage. He was called an informer evidently with the object of arousing the vilest passions against him, and, as a matter of fact, some of the answers given by the mob during this speech was, " we'll hang him," " we'll cut off his ears."

August the 20th was nomination day. When Mr. McGee was called upon to speak, the crowd created such a great disturbance that it became quite impossible to hear him, and he was compelled to abandon the attempt at that place, but proceeded from the hustings to the Mechanics' Hall, which contained his committee rooms, and addressed his friends from a window. He there expressed his regret that the right of free speech was denied in Montreal, a far more important matter than the question as to who should be the next representative. He said means had been resorted to never before known of at an election contest. He did not mean personal attacks, for he would not deign to notice such, but there were some of his

friends who had received messages threatening to burn their places of business if they ventured to record their votes, or use their influence in his favor.

The line of cleavage became more distinct and pronounced as polling day approached. The cab drivers of the city, who were largely Irish, as a body refused to carry any of Mr. McGee's voters, saying they would not permit their vehicles to be defiled in the service of Titus Oates. On the other hand, the English and Scotch voters in the constituency were almost a unit in their support of Mr. McGee. He had behind him such prominent citizens as Mr. Torrance, Mr. McKenzie, Mr. Molson and Mr. Routh.

The result of the polls on the first day, although not as satisfactory as could have been wished, gave Mr. McGee a majority of five hundred. In St. Anne's ward, popularly called Griffintown, the vote stood, McGee, six hundred and sixty-two; Devlin, six hundred and seventy-eight. Next day, however, the full Irish vote was brought out, and as a result of that day's voting, Mr. McGee had two hundred and seventy, against four hundred and seven for Mr. Devlin, making the total majority in the two days only two hundred and eighty-six, whereas his majority over Mr. Young five years before was seven hundred. All this was indicative of the complete severance of the ties between him and the majority of his race and people in Montreal.

When the result was known nothing could exceed the passionate rage of his opponents. It was naturally assumed that Mr. McGee would be in his committee rooms at the close of the polls, and evidently under some guiding hands, for the mob was clearly organized with a definite purpose in view, a crowd of fully eight hundred people, with cries of "burn him out," accompanied by showers of stones, made an attack upon the doors of the hall, and attempted to take

possession of the building. This was vigorously resisted, and before the riot ended, bullets were flying, and many people were seriously injured. It was quite clear that if Mr. McGee had fallen into their hands, he would have been given a short shrift, and if to the black catalogue of treason and disloyalty murder was not added, it was on account of lack of opportunity, not lack of intention.

Mr. McGee was not the man to sit quietly under such provocation and outrageous treatment, and on the 10th of September wrote to the Montreal *Gazette*, demanding the punishment of those who were instrumental in the riot on polling day, not as a retaliatory measure, not on account of the past, but for the sake of the future. He said:

"A mob unpunished is a fatal precedent. Every time you permit it to act unpunished it will become stronger and the law weaker. A month ago its weapons were stones and rotten eggs. Last week it had armed itself with axe handles and revolvers. A mob is a compound crime against all society. It contains within itself as its commonest ingredients, pillage, arson and murder. It marches with sacrilege and perjury in its train. It debases the reason of many men, to place them under the command of the evil spirit which possesses a few leaders. There is no dallying with such a spirit in any community or state, where the law, both human and divine, has not lost all executive virtue."

In this way he accepted the challenge of those who planned his destruction.

Chapter 40.

THE CLOSING DAYS.

Early in the fall, the St. Patrick's Society, by its executive, invited the Honourable Timothy Anglin, a Roman Catholic member of Parliament from New Brunswick, and some others, to address them, Mr. McGee being intentionally left out of the invitation. Subsequently, the executive took advantage of the occasion to pass a resolution of thanks to Mr. Anglin for his defence of the Irish Catholic element throughout Canada, whose character had been so wantonly assailed by the Honourable T. D. McGee. The latter replied in the press, saying:

"I acknowledge the duel with Fenianism in Canada to be the most unpleasant contest I ever entered upon. I shall never abandon the side which I believe honour and conscience alike demand I should take in this matter."

He then restated his charges against the Fenian faction in Montreal, and specified the individuals most active in the movement, and most prominent now in St. Patrick's Society.

The House met for its first session on the 7th of November. The Hon. Joseph Howe having taken occasion, in speaking upon the address, to attack confederation, Mr. McGee replied, with his accustomed vigour, saying:

"It is in the power of our public men to depress or raise the public spirit, to strengthen or weaken the unity of the commonwealth. I need not illustrate this position by reciting instances of the many countries that have been undermined in their courage and character, conquered within before they were conquered without; to name Greece is enough.

"Enough, no foreign foe could quell
Thy soul, till from itself it fell.
Yes, self-abasement paved the way
For villain bonds and despot sway."

The policy of self-abasement, I cannot see, in the light of policy at all. I trust this first Parliament of the Dominion will stamp its reprobation upon every mention of such a policy, and that while avoiding all bravado on the one hand as unbecoming men in our position, we will, in this place, endeavour to elevate, and not to depress the public spirit of the country. This faith wrongs no one, burthens no one, menaces no one, dishonours no one, and as it was said of old, "faith moves mountains," so I venture reverently to express my own belief, that if the difficulties of our future as a Dominion were, which I cannot yet see, as high as the peaks of Etna, or Tolune, or Illimani, yet the patriotic faith of one united people will be all-sufficient to overcome and triumph over all such difficulties."

During this session, I noticed a marked change in my friend. He was at no time in good health during the last six months of his life. At length he had overcome the failing which his social qualities had made his stumbling block for so many years, and I noted a strain of seriousness in his conversation, with less of his brightness and humour than ever before. It was almost as if an instinctive prescience of his speedy end cast a shadow upon his life. His mind seemed more frequently to revert to his earlier years than I had ever noticed before. During his illness on one occasion, I recited to him some of his earlier poems, written when he was editor of the Dublin *Freeman*, and a leader of the Young Irish Party, repeating such verses as the following, from his "Song of the Sections":

"Up! up! ye banish'd Irishmen,
The soldier's art to learn;
A time will come—will ye be then
Fit for the struggle stern?
A time will come when Britain's flag
From London's Tower shall fall—
Will ye be ready then to strike
For Ireland, once for all?"

And again, from his poem "The Ancient Race":

"What shall become of the ancient race—
The noble Celtic island race?
Like cloud on cloud o'er the azure sky,
When winter storms are loud and high,
Their dark ships shadow the ocean's face—
What shall become of the Celtic race?

What shall befall the ancient race?
Is treason's stigma on their face?
Be they cowards or traitors? Go
Ask the shade of England's foe;
See the gems her crown that grace;
They tell a tale of the ancient race.

Then why cast out the ancient race?
Grim want dwelt with the ancient race,
And hell-born laws, with prison jaws,
And greedy lords with tiger maws
Have swallow'd—swallow still apace—
The limbs and the blood of the ancient race.

They dig a grave for the ancient race—
And grudge that grave to the ancient race—
On highway side full oft were seen
The wild dogs and the vultures keen
Tug for the limbs and gnaw the face
Of some starved child of the ancient race!

They will not go, the ancient race!
They must not go, the ancient race!
Come, gallant Celts, and take your stand—
The League—the League—will save the land—
The land of faith, the land of grace,
The land of Erin's ancient race!

They will not go, the ancient race!
They *shall* not go, the ancient race!
The cry swells loud from shore to shore,
From em'rald vale to mountain hoar—
From altar high to market place—
They shall not go, the ancient race!"

At this he smiled and said: "It is true, I was an ardent nationalist at that time. Remember, I was scarcely of age. In a few years experience moderated my enthusiasm. Youth is always prone to unbalanced judgment. If youth is honest in its convictions, it should be forgiven. I have no doubt these fugitive poems of mine have had much to do with the charges against me of being a traitor to my people, my later course in life appearing in such contrast with my conduct in 1848, but the future will justify me to my race, when time shall have mollified the passions of the day."

On the 27th January, 1868, the St. Patrick's Society of Montreal expelled Mr. McGee from its membership, and put his name, as his person long had been outside of the pale of mercy. This act was so gratifying to the Fenian brotherhood in the United States that the council of Tarrytown, N.Y., passed a vote of thanks to the society for their action in this regard. On the 10th of February, the papers announced a special meeting of the society, in which a motion was made to reconsider their action in expelling Mr. McGee. It is impossible to follow the de-

vious course of those who were now closing the toils around him. It is impossible to tell whether this resolution was introduced and published to throw off suspicion from that body, when, as they may well have known, the public would be startled and horrified in a few days by the accomplishment of the purpose which some of their numbers were actively promoting. Mr. McGee clearly did not consider this motion as one coming from his friends. He wrote at once to the Montreal *Gazette,* as follows:—

"The second meeting relating to myself was wholly unknown to me, as was the first. The gentlemen mentioned as moving the resolution are personally unknown to me, and their movements equally so; but under no circumstances, short of a thorough reformation of the Society as recently conducted, could I consent to my name being inserted in the new books."

During most of January and February of the new year, Mr. McGee was confined to his house by illness, but at length, having somewhat recovered, he lectured in Montreal, on the 28th February, to a large and enthusiastic audience of his friends, upon a subject most congenial with his sympathies, namely, "Our New Nation and the Old Empire." Mr. Ogilvie occupied the chair, and amongst the audience were Major-General Russell and staff, and Sir Henry Havelock and Lady Havelock.

The House had adjourned on the 20th of December to the 12th of March, and Mr. McGee now proceeded to Ottawa to attend upon his parliamentary duties. He was received in the most hearty manner by his many friends and admirers, and a banquet was given in his honour on the evening of St. Patrick's Day, at the Russell House. Over one hundred persons were present, including the leader and some prominent members of the new Government. In his reply

to the toast to himself, as the guest of the evening, he expressed his gratification at the spontaneous demonstration of the Irishmen of Ottawa, irrespective of religious creeds. On the same day he spoke at a union Protestant and Catholic Irish concert, where he said: "I wish the enemies of the Dominion of Canada to ask themselves whether a state of society which enables us all to meet as we do in this manner, with the fullest feeling of equal rights, and the strongest sense of equal duties to our common country, is not a state of society, a condition of things, a system of laws and a frame of self-government, worthy even of the *sacrifice of our lives* to perpetuate and preserve."

At this dinner a remark made by one of his friends especially gratified him. It was: "We have heard much in Mr. McGee's praise here to-night, but to me it seems his chiefest glory now, as it will be in the future, that he has been engaged in the God-like task of peace-making, and the peace-maker's reward surely will be his."

This little circumstance but faintly indicates the deep regard with which he was viewed by his friends. They deeply loved him, and he had a larger circle of friends attached to him for personal reasons, rather than for expectation of benefits, than had any other public man of his day.

At the same banquet, another said of him: "More than all our public men put together, he has laboured to increase the interest felt by the people of this country in intellectual pursuits, to foster a love of literature, and elevate the public taste. It is no slight thing to have a man of his ability willing to devote himself to such a work. He seems to take it as a matter of course that all the resources of his mind, and all the powers of his eloquence, should be devoted to every useful cause or institution that appeals to him for aid. In all the principal towns of Canada, and indeed, in

many of the smaller ones, he has lectured repeatedly on behalf of various benevolent and literary societies. He never takes a narrow view of anything. This is the secret of his influence, and this is what makes his presence in the political arena of such value to the country. By the very constitution of his mind, he seems to judge everything upon the widest principles of historical and philosophical criticism."

Chapter 41.

THE FINAL ACT.

"With body foul, in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a serpent armed
With mortal sting, about her middle round
A cry of hell-hounds never ceasing barked
With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung
A hideous peal. Yet when they list, would creep
If ought disturbed their noise, into her womb,
And kennel there, yet there still barked and howled
Within unseen."—*Paradise Lost.*

We must now again retrace our steps, and follow the doings of the Montreal Fenians. During the fall of 1867, the animosity against Mr. McGee, which his pertinacious and outspoken denunciations of the brotherhood excited amongst its sympathisers, stimulated as it was by some of the executive of St. Patrick's Society, now became devilish in its nature and intensity, and it is not surprising to find that wherever the lowest and most depraved of its members met to discuss their plans, nothing received more hearty approval than suggestions of putting Mr. McGee out of the way.

On William Street, in Montreal, at this time, there stood a small groggery, kept by one Duggan, at which a number of Fenians were accustomed to assemble. Amongst the frequenters was one James Whelan, alias Sullivan, alias Smith, who, at this time, was employed in a Montreal tailor shop. For a long time Whelan was known amongst his companions as an outspoken critic of Mr. McGee. He had frequently said Mr. McGee was a traitor, and ought to be shot; that if he had a chance he would shoot him like a rat; that he would like a chance to blow his brains out, and would do so before the next session of the House. Others there were who, perhaps even more culpable than he, but more careful of their safety, discovered that Whelan was a proper tool for their purpose. The details of the plot were never fully divulged, but this much is known, that by November Whelan had been induced to undertake the murderous exploit. About the middle of this month, Mr. McGee went to Ottawa, and within a day or two Whelan followed, and obtained employment in a tailor shop in that city. He lost no time in making the acquaintance of the members of the local lodge, many of whom, subsequent occurrences showed, were not only fully in sympathy with his purpose, but were actually associated in his design. An opportunity not presenting itself for successfully carrying out the attempt with safety to those taking part in it, Whelan followed Mr. McGee when he returned to Montreal, at the adjournment of the House on the 20th December, and it was then determined to make the attempt at his own house. After midnight of New Year's Day, a rap was heard at the front door of Mr. McGee's house on St. Catharines Street, when all had retired for the night. Mr. McGee's younger brother went to the door, where he found Whelan. On inquiring his errand, Whelan claimed it was to warn Mr. McGee that the house

would be set on fire before four o'clock that morning. He was invited in, and after some conversation, consented to carry a message to the police office, containing this information, but it was discovered subsequently, that although he left Mr. McGee' house at two o'clock, it was after four before he reached the police office, and he afterwards told a companion in the jail, that he had expected Mr. McGee would have come to the door on this occasion, and had he done so, he would have shot him like a dog. This effort not having succeeded, Whelan returned to Ottawa, and consummated, with his friends, their plans for successfully carrying out their intentions, when Mr. McGee should return. At length, the night of the 7th April was selected for the affair. Whelan was seen to enter and leave the gallery of the House of Commons a number of times, and finally left the House shortly before the adjournment at one o'clock. His victim left about the same time, accompanied by Mr. Macfarlane, one of the members, and separating on Sparks Street, Mr. McGee proceeded west towards the Toronto House, where he resided. As he inserted his latchkey in the door, the assassin's revolver was placed at his head; a flash, a report, he falls, and in a few moments his immortal spirit had returned to the God who gave it.

It boots little to refer to the horror with which this devilish deed was received by the public; the rewards offered for the arrest of the assassin, the panegyrics pronounced upon his life by both friends and opponents in the House of Commons, the state funeral given to his remains in Montreal, the arrest of Whelan, his trial, and finally his sentence, and the capital punishment inflicted by outraged justice. I have not the heart to do so, because all such details avail nothing in assuaging the grief of those who loved him as their very selves. If anything could be imagined more

likely than another to exasperate to madness his friends, it was a hypocritical resolution of condolence passed by the executive of St. Patrick's Society, and directed to be sent to his distracted widow, by the very persons whose bitter denunciations of the man had contributed so largely to his final taking off. Had the society expressed regret for its conduct, had it reproached itself for its short-sightedness, some extenuation of its action might be found, but what are we to say of a man who waves a flaming torch around the open mouth of a powder barrel, but that he is guilty of criminal conduct if an explosion should take place? So here, the conduct of those who, for their own purposes, worked upon the passionate natures of his fellow-countrymen, who hurled against him every atrocious charge that could be imagined, who blackened his name, his motives and his conduct, who accused him of the crime most revolting to the minds of those to whom the words were addressed, of being a purchased traitor to his race, an informer who gave up to the law his former friends and associates, and who now lived in affluence upon the price of his infamy. All this cannot be excused. If I write strongly, I feel strongly; and my only regret is, that the Government never probed this affair to the bottom, but thought the public interest best conserved by making a general jail delivery of the seventy persons arrested on suspicion, believing that Mr. McGee's martyrdom for his loyalty to the land of his adoption, and for the Crown, to which he had long been so staunch a supporter, would destroy every vestige of Fenianism in the country, and would so discredit the cause, and those identified with it, that Fenianism would never again be able to hold up its head in this country, as indeed it never has.

FINIS

EPILOGUE.

My task is ended. And now, O spirit of my departed friend, in what sphere soever thou dost have thine abode amongst the chosen ones, I have been upheld in my labours in the hope that I might, in a humble way, portray to another age that knew thee not, something of the great work thou didst accomplish for the land of thine adoption, which land thou didst love to the giving up of thy life, that she might not only be great and strong and noble, but be safe from the machinations of those who plotted her destruction.

O Spirit of Toleration and Moderation, which, for a time, didst become embodied in mortal garments, may thy teachings never be forgotten in the councils of our great men, and may thy martyred life stand forth throughout all ages in the new Empire thou didst help to build, as a beacon light, recalling to all men the words of the great apostle "Though I speak "with the tongue of men and of angels, and have not "Charity, I am become as a sounding brass and a "tinkling symbal, and although I have of Faith so that "I could remove mountains and have not Charity, I "am nothing. Charity suffereth long and is kind, "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all "things, endureth all things; and now abideth Faith, "Hope and Charity, these three, but the greatest of "these is Charity," and the words of the Divine Christ himself: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall "be called the children of God."

BINDING SECT AUG 10 1970

F
5076
C3

Cameron, Edward Robert
Memoirs of Ralph Vansittart

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY